

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
RECEIVED AUG 5 1946

THE

LONDON QUARTERLY

AND

HOLBORN REVIEW

EDITOR: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

JULY 1946

Price 2s. 6d.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL COMMENTS, by Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D.

ARTICLES, NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

Causation, Providence and Prayer, by Henry Bett, M.A., Litt.D.

The Aim of a Theological College, by Harold S. Darby, M.A.

Wesley and Sanctification, by W. E. Sangster

The Compulsion of Christ, by C. Ryder Smith, B.A., D.D.

The Beginning of the Gospel, by Reginald Gianville

In the Upper Room, by Charles F. Davey, M.A., B.D.

'Quit India?' by H. W. Sibree Page

Wesley and Luther, by Henry Bett, M.A., Litt.D.

Comment or Fragment? by Wilfrid L. Hannam

Thomas Hardy's Apology, by T. W. Bevan

A Note on Literature and Religion, by Charles Gimblett

MINISTERS IN COUNCIL, by William E. Farndale

RECENT LITERATURE—FROM MY NEW SHELF

Edited by Dr. C. Ryder Smith, B.A., D.D.

LONDON
EPWORTH PRESS
EDGAR·C·BARTON
25·35·CITY ROAD·E.C.1

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

LITERATURE HISTORY SOCIOLOGY
RELIGION THEOLOGY PHILOSOPHY

Editor: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., PH.D.

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review is published on the 25th of March, June, September, and December by the Epworth Press, 25-35 City Road, London, E.C.1. It may be obtained from the publishers or any bookseller and from all Methodist ministers at 2s. 6d. a copy (postage 3d.) or 10s. per annum, post free.

All contributions (typewritten, if possible), should be addressed to The Editor, 'The London Quarterly and Holborn Review', 25-35 City Road, E.C.1, with stamped addressed envelope for return in case of non-acceptance.

...but country people
~~can't have GAS~~
Oh yes they can!

We are sorry to have to contradict you so flatly. Country people CAN have GAS—everyone, everywhere. No gas pipes have to be laid to your door. Instead, Calor Gas is delivered to you by road—in convenient-sized containers ready for immediate attachment to modern gas appliances for lighting, cooking, etc. Over a quarter of a million in rural areas daily rely on 'Calor' Gas—and so can you. Write for FREE Leaflet C.G. 175



"CALOR" GAS

BELGROVE HOUSE, KING'S CROSS, W.C.1

T

evd
san
stre
situ
of
anc
sec
a
bo
im
by
'As
the
ce
ye
it
lis
La
In
w
po
tic
be
th
ev
T
re
T
B
ti
to

T
eve
sar
str
sit
of
and
sec
A p
bor
imp
7
by
'An
tho
cen
yea
it t
F
liab
Laz
In
whi
poli
tion
but
the
eve
The
reco
The
Bei
tion
to f

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

JULY 1946

Editorial Comments

CHRISTIANITY AND EARLY ARAB NATIONALISM

THE future of world peace depends in part upon the settling of the problems of the Arab countries. The Western Powers have not yet succeeded in evolving a policy which preserves their own reasonable interests and at the same time does justice to Arab aspirations. This failure has evoked a new and stronger nationalism throughout the Middle East. To understand the present situation one must recall some of the earlier movements toward the unification of all Arab-speaking peoples. They began in small groups in certain countries and were the spontaneous efforts of idealists who saw a bigger vision than their sectarian contemporaries. At first, almost unconsciously, they were moved by a pride of race which carried them over the narrower religious and tribal boundaries toward that Arab world whose now rapidly emerging unity is an important concern for us today.

The conditions in which this movement began were at first created largely by Christians from Europe and America. Though what has been called the 'Arabisation' of Syria and Iraq was in being over two thousand years ago, and though the 'Islamisation' of the Middle East has been going on since the seventh century A.D., the Arab national movement, as we know it, is barely a hundred years old. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries helped to bring it to birth.

From 1625 to their suppression in 1773 the Jesuits worked in Syria, establishing theological schools in Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, and the Lebanon. The Lazarists kept these institutions going until the return of the Jesuits in 1831. In 1820 the American Presbyterians came to Beirut and began a modest work which was to have unexpected and far-reaching consequences. The tolerant policy of Ibrahim Pasha permitted the Protestant Mission to extend its educational scheme. It was no longer concerned solely with religious propaganda, but set out a general curriculum which stressed particularly the restoration of the Arabic language and literature. Ibrahim's Egyptian scholastic system, even in the few years of its existence, gave a new impetus to national education. The college originally founded by the Maronites at Aintura in 1728 was reopened and began to turn out a succession of alert and broad-minded thinkers. The American missionaries, strongly reinforced, set up a printing-press in Beirut and, most wonderful of all, a girl's school. This was a startling innovation, but it became almost at once a great success. The Jesuits were stimulated to further ambitious educational efforts, though they still remained chiefly

concerned with theological issues. This was the period in which a new movement of ideas began, though no man could then foresee the tremendous consequences that were to develop.

The Arabic language had deteriorated. Few books in Arabic had survived, and there were no papers or journals, though there was a printing-press of sorts at Cairo. It was the establishment of printing-presses and the rebirth of the Arab tongue which helped, more than anything else, to develop national consciousness in the Arab peoples.

Two Arab Christians, both natives of the Lebanon, were responsible for the next great advance. Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani were both great patriots who devoted their lives to the creation of a new Arabic literature. Bustani compiled a magnificent dictionary and wrote six volumes of an Arab Encyclopædia. He founded and edited a literary and political fortnightly review called *al-Jenan*. Nasif Yazeji did a great work in rediscovering the lost Arabic classics and in writing what became standard books on the grammar, syntax, and prosody of the Arabic language. These two scholarly and patriotic men, both with a Christian background, formed, in 1847, the Society of Arts and Sciences in Beirut. Other similar societies followed and, in 1857, the Syrian Scientific Society advanced a stage farther by including in its membership Moslems, Druses, and Christians. All creeds were thus united in the common quest for knowledge. This marked real progress in a country notorious for its tribal and sectarian divisions. After only eleven years, in 1868, it was officially recognized, and its membership was extended to the Arab communities in Constantinople and Cairo. One of the most reliable authorities on the period, George Antonius, says: 'The foundation of the Society was the first outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness, and its importance in history is that it was the cradle of a political movement.'

One of the members of the Syrian Scientific Society, Ibrahim Yazeji, son of Nasif, brought the fast-developing patriotism to a focal point by writing a patriotic Ode which called passionately for an Arab rising. It was recited to a select few, learnt and transmitted orally till it was being whispered fiercely in the bazaars of Damascus and in the tents of the desert. The national movement was in being and was growing apace.

THE NEW CONSCIOUSNESS OF AN ARAB WORLD

One of the contributory causes of the awakening lay in a sudden psychological reaction. In 1860 the Christians in the southern Lebanon were the victims of a tragic attack by their religious opponents the Druses. Many were massacred in cold blood. Men recoiled in horror, and a band of educated though youthful leaders pledged themselves to fight against Turkish oppression and to give their lives to the realization of a national ideal in place of ancient local and sectarian prejudices.

It was obvious that the intelligent youth of Syria were thinking in common, and the movement of which they were a vital part would have developed more quickly but for the long years of despotism and tyranny under the rule of the notorious Sultan Abdul Hamid. From 1876 to 1908 it grew silently and almost unnoticed. The great revival of Arabic literature was its chief opportunity.

Again we find ourselves in contact with the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. In 1875 five of its students called together twenty-two of the intelligentsia amongst the young Moslems and Druses and formed a secret society. Branches were soon established in Damascus, Tripoli, and Sidon. It is only within recent years that this chapter of underground history has been fully revealed. Five years after its inception the Society had carried out a most successful and secret mission of propaganda through the copying and posting of placards in the streets of the towns of Syria and the Lebanon. They called in fierce language for an Arab revolt and the establishment of Arab independence against Turkish rule. Quoting the Ode of Ibrahim Yazeji the placards proclaimed a new nationalism which envisaged a real political entity rather than a series of sectarian victories. There was something much more than the creation of a number of localized but independent states in the minds of the young revolutionaries.

Thus, the movement which had begun as a social and cultural renaissance had assumed a political importance. It created a spirit of unrest which spread from Syria to many parts of the Middle East. It was at this stage that the leadership passed into Moslem hands. The reason seems again to have been due to the attitude of the foreign schools. As fifty years earlier they had been largely responsible for the revival of the Arabic language, so, now, because they found it more convenient to use advanced text-books in English, French, or Russian, Arabic ceased to be so widely used in their more technical schools. On the other hand, Moslem schools continued to teach in Arabic. The nationalist movement, cradled in Christian schools, was now nurtured by Moslems, and its subsequent leaders were to be found chiefly amongst the Moslem communities.

Though the years of Abdul Hamid's tyranny seemed to drive Arab nationalism underground, it was in this very period that a nationalist movement began in Egypt. The British occupation took place in 1882 and its continuance has been of enormous benefit to the Egyptian people but that has not prevented the constant agitation of an increasing number of Egyptians for the withdrawal of the British army from the whole country.

Toward the end of Abdul's reign the Young Turks came to power, and a Young Arab movement developed at the same time. Secret societies were once more the order of the Arabian day! Each of them declared its aim to be the independence of the Arab people. The most powerful of these was al-Fatat, founded in 1911 in Paris, a city which like Cairo had long been a centre of intrigues designed to overthrow Abdul Hamid and liberate the Arab world. Its members were chiefly young students whose enthusiasm was soon felt in Beirut and Damascus. Two years later, in 1913, a Committee of Reform sprang into being in Beirut and an Arab Congress met in Paris, attended by representatives from Syria, Iraq and the Arabs of the United States of America.

During the first World War the attitude of the Arab peoples became of vital importance to the Allies. It was imperative to enlist the Arab nationalist movement in order to destroy the Turkish armies. This caused Great Britain to attempt to define her policy more clearly. It proved to be a difficult task, for it was not enough to establish separate independent States under the

guardianship of the British Government. There were also several important factors to be taken into account. France claimed her rights in Syria. The Zionists demanded Palestine. The defence of India was involved in the situation in Iraq, and the British Government was anxious not to jeopardize its position in Egypt. A compromise was sought by the setting up of certain independent Arab States, without seeming to be aware of the deeper desire for Arab unity. It is true that the Arab Revolt in 1916 helped in the overthrow of the Turkish domination, but it is also to be remembered that the subsequent settlements changed Arab friendship into what one recent Arab writer has described as 'bitter distrust'. The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 was not completely satisfactory to the French and was quite unsatisfactory to the Arabs. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was the beginning of a long and bitter struggle between Arab and Jew in Palestine. The creation of so many mandated areas by the Peace Treaty was in complete opposition to the gradually-developed and now strong Arab nationalism. Suspicion and angry condemnation of the British policy was a natural outcome. It was unfortunate that at so critical a moment in the history of the Arab people the relationship with the chief European Powers concerned should be so complicated.

The general situation is well summarized by Mr. Hourani: 'The coming of Western civilization was completely overturning the inner balance of forces in the Arab World. A new Arab society was coming into existence, power was passing from the desert to the sown lands, from the interior to the Mediterranean coasts, and from the countryside to the educated classes of the towns. No alliance with the Arabs could be successful unless it was an alliance with the new forces and satisfied their aspirations for the future of their nation.'

For the next twenty years British policy pursued the same line — encouraging the free development of separate independent States, in so far as it did not interfere with other political necessities, e.g. strategic requirements in Egypt, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf, French government of Syria, and Jewish settlement in Palestine. The Arab intelligentsia became convinced that British statesmen either did not know or did not care about the Arab situation in detail. 'Few noticed that a new Arab nation was coming into existence, very different from the old; that a complete change in the balance of social power, between regions and between classes, was taking place, causing a temporary social instability which was at the root of the prevalent political instability.'

This attitude which had developed in the years between the two World Wars made it difficult for the educated Arab to be enthusiastic either for the Allies or for the Axis when the armies faced one another again. It was logical enough that they should look for an opportunity in the exigencies of war to carry their nationalist dream nearer to its realization. Whilst sentimental but uninformed British opinion looked upon Arab loyalty as a right, those who had more detailed knowledge of the previous twenty years felt thankful that the Arabs refrained from harassing our lines of communication in North Africa and that Ibn Saud remained consistently friendly. It was somewhat remarkable, under all the circumstances, that Arab agitation in Palestine became almost quiescent during the greater part of the war years.

During the past quarter of a century trade with the Western nations has increased, communications have improved, and oil has been discovered in Iraq.

Everywhere the towns have grown and Western ideas have been assimilated. A new social consciousness is developing and the Arab World is no longer cut off by the trackless desert.

It is tragic that there should be a deterioration in the relations between France, Great Britain, and the almost full-grown Arab nationalism. The feeling still persists, however, that these Western Powers have raised artificial barriers against the realization of Arab unity. The suspicion has been extended to include to some degree America because of what is assumed to be her strongly pro-Jewish attitude in the Palestine problem. There remains of the Big Four only Russia. The Fertile Crescent (including Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and the Lebanon) is interested in Russia and the interest is mutual. It would be extremely unfortunate if any avoidable misunderstanding should separate the Arabs and the Russians from the common task of shaping a new world in peace. Questions which face all Western peoples are urgent. How far can Arab nationalism be encouraged and helped? How is it possible for a unified Arab World to play its part in the shaping of our common destiny?

THE CHALLENGE TO WESTERN CHRISTENDOM

There is a widespread impression that the 'Arab World' is a conglomeration of States and tribal entities, each bound by its own distinctive local traditions or the law of the desert, often indolent and unproductive, or, even worse, smeared with a thin artificial veneer of what purports to be Western civilization. That is the kind of verdict which is summed up in the offensive word 'Wog' — Westernized oriental gentleman. Such a conclusion must be abandoned if we are to solve the problem of the Peace.

The trouble comes partly from stressing the differences in environment and outlook in the countries which are included in the term 'The Arab World'. The differences are obvious in Egypt, the Sudan, Cyrenaica, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and the States on the Arabian peninsula, but there is also a basic unity which will not be denied. Of the forty million people, at least thirty-five million speak the same language — Arabic. The majority have the same racial origin and are bound by customs born of the desert. Most of them have the same fundamental religious outlook, for more than thirty million are orthodox 'Sunni' Moslems, with another three or four million Shii Moslems and a further group of Islamic sectaries. Of the two million Christians, about half the number are Copts living in Egypt and the rest Roman Catholics or members of various branches of the Eastern Church and a relatively small body of Protestants.

There are also about a quarter of a million Arab-speaking, old-established Jewish inhabitants, and half a million Jewish immigrants in Palestine. It is clear, from these general facts, that in racial kinship, religious expression and belief, and a common language there is a basic unity on which a logical nationalism has been built.

The old days of desert dominance have passed. The Westernized town-dwellers are becoming masters of the situation. In the towns, however, there is little in common yet between the workers and the educated *bourgeoisie*. It is the latter class which is at present providing leadership in cultural and political

movements. In the towns of Egypt, Palestine, and the Lebanon the standard of living is beginning to be raised. Arab leaders are looking to the West and wondering, in this period of transition, how far it desires the ways of the West for its people.

The Christian minorities, more fully Westernized, can act and, indeed, are acting as interpreters of Europe to the rest of the Arab World. By accepting their opportunity they can, in the words of A. H. Hourani, 'render a service to the Arab nation and safeguard their own future as members of the nation. In the effort to understand and to interpret Europe they need and should be given the full help of Great Britain's cultural institutions in the Middle East.'—Such a statement suggests the challenge and opportunity which lies before us. The standard of living in Arab countries is, as a whole, very low. The Western peoples could help to raise it, not by bribes or subsidies, but through their technicians and, in some cases, through their capital.

Years of Turkish domination have resulted in political ignorance. The West, through long centuries of experience, can teach the Arab the elements of democratic government and municipal administration. Here again, given right relationships, is an opportunity for the nations to walk peacefully together in true co-operation.

Finally there is need for a still deeper understanding of the West. Arab writers are wondering whether the civilization which they are considering assimilating is really secular or Christian. There are those who talk of the possibility of 'creating an Islamic system of thought based on Hellenism'. Our roots in the past are the occasion of our present privileges and opportunities and this is a moment in history when it is imperative that Christian thinkers should make plain not only to the Arab World but to people much nearer home that all that is best in our civilization has come directly or indirectly through the Christian faith. The ideals of today did not appear like some magic beanstalk, in a night or even a century. They are the consequence of man's divine kinship made finally intelligible through the Christian revelation. Only as man has learnt to appreciate and apprehend them has he discovered those principles by which today he lives most happily. As it has been said there is no logical reason for democratic ideals except in so far as it may be found in the Christian faith.

It is not in Hellenism divorced from Christianity that one will find the urge to brother all mankind. The Christian way of life demands our consideration of the aspirations of Everyman and the sharing of our experience with him in his upward climb.

Among recent books which deal with this aspect of the Arab problem, two are of particular importance: *The Arab Awakening*, by George Antonius (Hamish Hamilton — 12s. 6d.) and *Great Britain and the Arab World*, by A. H. Hourani (John Murray — 1s. 6d.).

LESLIE F. CHURCH

Articles, Notes and Discussions

CAUSATION, PROVIDENCE, AND PRAYER

IT is rather surprising to find how much of the difficulty felt by many minds in conceiving of any real action of God in the natural world arises from a fallacious idea of the nature of causation. It often seems to be thought that a cause and an effect follow each other, so to speak, in single file — as if every particular cause and every particular effect were a separate entity, and as if these followed each other in a predestined line of necessary succession. Then, when it is a matter of miracle, or providential guidance, or answered prayer, the question arises: 'Is it to be supposed that one of these causes can be somehow irregularly taken out of the line of succession, and another somehow irregularly substituted for it?' — thus disturbing what is regarded as an inevitable series of sequences.

But an event is not brought to pass by a single cause: it is brought about by a multiplicity of causes acting together in a very complex way. The picture needed in our minds is not something like a string of beads, but something like a game of chess. The pattern of causation is not linear, but reticular: it is not a straight line in which one effect follows from one cause in a single series which is fixed, but an involved network in which an effect follows from a multitude of causes, in a multiplex series which is continually changing. Both these points are extremely important.

First, then, it is not strictly true to say that any event has *a* cause; it has a multitude of causes. We say that the cause of a man's death is a bullet through the head, and that serves well enough as a rough and ready statement of fact; but it is very defective if we want a complete account of what has happened. We have merely picked out one prominent detail in the complex of causation, and have either deliberately ignored all the other causal factors, or, if we are rather elementary thinkers, we have perhaps entirely forgotten them for the moment. An adequate statement of the cause of the man's death would have to include not only the bullet, but the explosive mixture which impelled the bullet; and the form of the gun, which restricted and directed the force of the explosion; and the exact aim of the weapon, since if it had been pointed otherwise the bullet would have missed the man; and the position of the gun in space, since if it had been a hundred miles off the man would not have been hit; and the moment of the explosion in time, since if it had happened a hundred years ago the dead man would not then have been born; and the existence of chemical substances such as sulphur and saltpetre and charcoal and nitroglycerine, since without these there would have been no explosive; and ultimately the entire physical constitution and history of the universe, because if the evolution of the solar system and the geological history of the earth had been different, these chemical substances with their properties might never have existed at all.

Moreover, the man would not have died by the bullet unless the human organism had been such that severe laceration of the brain is a fatal injury;

and there are many other factors, such as the man's position in space and time at the moment when the gun was fired, since if he had been somewhere else in the world, or if it had been another hour or another day, the bullet would not have reached him; and the man's height, since if he had been six inches shorter the bullet would have missed his head; and the early physical life of the man, and indeed his whole complex ancestry, since his stature results from the conditions of his early nurture and of his ancestral history; and finally the whole evolution of organic life upon this planet, since apart from that humanity would never have existed at all, and there would have been no man to be shot. The cause of the man's death, therefore, is not merely the bullet, but an immense, complex, and prolonged series of facts and factors which finally include everything in the universe, past and present.

In point of fact the whole notion of causation is derived from our own experience, and, as it were, imposed upon the world of nature: our only actual experience of it is in our own personal relation to the external world. When once man has arrived at the conception he finds that it is a necessity of thought, for all things hang together, and nothing happens of itself and by itself. To speak of cause and effect is simply a recognition of that fact — that all things in the universe are interconnected and interdependent. We find that it is always necessary, as a great philosopher has said, 'to connect changes with conditions',¹ and, as we carry out that process we find that it is necessary to connect every single change with all the multiple conditions; in other words, that everything that happens in the world is really the result of everything else that happens, or has happened.

There can be no question that this, however paradoxical it may seem at first sight, is simply a statement of fact; and it has an important bearing on the nature and the range of human knowledge. As the complete cause of anything really involves the action of everything else in the universe, so a complete account of anything would really involve a knowledge of everything else in the universe. Here, for example, is my pocket-knife. It exists; it exists in space and in time; it is constructed of steel and bone, which are special forms of matter; and it is moved by my hand when in use. A complete knowledge of the pocket-knife would therefore mean a complete knowledge of the nature of existence, of space, of time, of matter, and of motion — in other words a complete knowledge of the nature of the physical universe. Even that is not all, for the knife is a product of human intelligence, and in use is an instrument of human volition, so that we should have to add to what is needed for a complete knowledge of it a complete knowledge of the nature of intelligence and of volition and of the relation of the human mind and the human will to all the other facts of existence — and so of everything else: an absolutely complete knowledge of anything that exists in the universe would mean a final understanding of the universe itself.² The poet is expressing an elementary truth of philosophy — which after all is only what any intelligent man must see if he thinks for five minutes — when he writes:

¹ 'On the whole, the ordinary notion of Cause and Effect is but a clumsy expression of the necessary law which requires us to connect changes with conditions, and is plainly enough derived from experience of our own activity, and the contrast of the living nature that acts and the lifeless thing that suffers.'—Lotze, *Microcosmos*, I, p. 677.

² cf. A. E. Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, p. 35.

Flower in the crannied wall,
 I pluck you out of the crannies,
 I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
 Little flower — but *if* I could understand
 What you are, root and all, and all in all,
 I should know what God and man is.

Then, in the second place, not only has every event a multitude of causes, but the precise arrangement of those causes is itself a causal factor, and that arrangement is constantly changing, so that a measureless variety of events may come to pass by the continual rearrangement of all the causes that are at work in the world. That, again, is an unquestionable fact. The causes are actually regrouped from moment to moment, so that the effects which result from them are changed from moment to moment, and an almost infinite variety of happenings come to pass in consequence. It is quite obvious that the very same causes, reassembled into another order, will produce different results. When you add up the figures in the cash columns of a ledger the total is not determined merely by the presence of all the figures but also by their position. Let a figure be changed from one column to another and the total will differ. The figure is still there, and is still an item in the total, but the change of position has given it a different value, and therefore the total is different. Without putting in any figure that is not there, or taking away any figure that is there, a rearrangement of the figures will give a different result, and if there are a great many figures involved, the possible rearrangements of them will give thousands of different results. So it is, and so it must be, with the causes which operate in the world. The actual causes may be precisely the same, but a shifting of the order and the relation of the causes will give another result and a very different one.

Take the weather as an example. It is the result of a vast number of different factors — the amount of heat from the sun and of evaporation from the sea, the direction and force of many currents in the ocean and in the air, the neighbourhood of mountains and forests, the distance of any particular district from a torrid desert or from a snowy steppe or from the sea, the amount of sunshine or of rain in preceding months, and so on. Some of these factors are more or less permanent; some of them are exceedingly variable; but it is the entire grouping of all these that determines the weather. That actual grouping of permanent and changeable factors does alter from day to day, from hour to hour, and so the weather alters. It is therefore not merely this, that, or the other factor that determines what the weather will be, nor merely all of them together, but the way that they are all grouped in relation to each other. In other words, it is not any single cause, nor even the mere totality of causes, but the precise arrangement of all the causes that brings about a particular effect.¹

¹ 'We are beginning to see that organization pervades nature everywhere; that we cannot validly conceive an atom of any sort going about with all its properties and causal efficacy within it. Everything is bound up in a web of causal relations without which it is not; to conceive it as existing without such relations is to misconceive it. Neither a physical atom, nor a sensation, nor a soul, may be validly conceived as a pure and simple substance which takes part in events by entering into relations with other self-contained entities. In other words, relations are constitutional or constitutive of things; and organization is universal and primordial, not something superadded, suddenly or gradually, to a world of things that might have existed without it.'—W. McDougall, *Modern Materialism and Emergent Evolution*, pp. 72-3.

This is a point of very great importance, and it is constantly forgotten in arguments that deal with the possibility and the probability of events. The world is, as a matter of fact, a kaleidoscope of constantly changing events, and this means that there is a constantly changing interplay of cause and effect. There is a causal *scheme* behind the range of actual events, and that scheme alters from moment to moment. What governs its perpetual change? There is a particular arrangement at this moment, which will be different at the next moment; what determines the shifting pattern as it perpetually changes?

The ultimate issue, then, with regard to any action of God in the world of nature, whether it is what we call miracle, or what we call providential direction, or what we call an answer to prayer, is really this: Is there any *direction* of the whole sum of events in the universe, or is there not? Any particular event is brought about by the totality of present and previous causes. Obviously there is a total pattern of facts and factors in the universe at any and every moment, and obviously it changes from moment to moment. What determines that perpetually changing pattern in its infinite intricacy? What orders, directs, and controls all the combinations of causes in the universe? There is no real answer to that question except by way of theism. That is certainly not too much to say, if you consider the possible answers to the problem. What are they? If you rule out a belief in God, the only alternatives are fate and chance, and both these are impossible conceptions, if you really think out what they mean.

The whole question as to any control of causes finally becomes another problem, that of the origin of the universe. No one denies the existence of order in the actual working of the universe from moment to moment. Every scientist, and for that matter, everybody else, takes it for granted that events are actually related to one another, and do actually depend upon one another in a regular sequence of causation, and to that extent there is a universal order. But is that order purposive, or is it merely automatic? Our belief as to that depends upon our conception of the origin of existence. What was it that at the beginning established what everyone must admit is the subsequent orderliness of the universe?

The old-fashioned materialist believed in a kind of fate which originated, apparently, in the nebula. He said that the arrangement of causes in the universe at any moment was determined by the arrangement that existed a moment before that, and so backwards to the beginning.¹ But that seems literally inconceivable if you try to think out what is involved. The materialist rules out intelligence and purpose and direction at the beginning, and then says, in effect, that all that happens is determined by the nature of primal matter at the beginning of the universe. That means (if indeed it means anything) that all the infinitely complex interactions of all the forces and laws of the universe for millions of years past were ordered from a beginning when

¹ 'If we ask a man in a new and strange situation why he acts as he does, it will hardly occur to him to explain his conduct by describing to us the immediately preceding situation. The answer he is likely to give, and that we naturally expect, will consist rather in describing the end at which he aims and the value that it has for him, as the reason for his determination. But if we ask a physicist to explain an unusual phenomenon he can do so only by discovering its antecedents, tracing these to their antecedents, and so on indefinitely: in other words he can explain it only on the assumption that it is determined by its place in a single rigorous mechanical system.'—James Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, pp. 278-9. cf. F. R. Tennant, *Philosophical Theology*, p. 23.

there was no order, and no source from which order could come — that a causeless disorder contained within itself all the causes and all the order that eventually emerged. It is like saying that a mass of jumbled type on the floor of a printer's shop sorts itself out, sets itself up, and prints itself into a sensible book. It is really even madder than that, for the type has at any rate been designed by intelligence, even if we think of it as left to itself afterward. The universe in its actual being from age to age is a realm of causes, laws, and order, and the whole of science depends upon that fact. But the source of it all, we are told, was a causeless, lawless, orderless chaos of matter, which nevertheless was the matrix of universal destiny. One would think that a really sceptical mind would find it considerably easier to accept the wildest legends of the Middle Ages than to believe in such a cosmogony as that.

The alternative to such a belief in blind fate — though it is not really an alternative, but finally amounts to very much the same thing — is a belief in blind chance. It is astonishing that some scientific thinkers who would not dream of bringing such a conception to explain the actual working of the universe from moment to moment, nevertheless attribute the origin of the universe to chance. This is really, in the long run, attributing every single event to chance, though that does not seem to be recognized. But if the origin of the universe is due to chance, the ultimate origin of everything in the universe is due to chance. Now this is an amazing implication for any scientist to accept. Science depends absolutely, as Whitehead has said, upon the belief that 'every detailed occurrence can be correlated with its antecedents in a perfectly definite manner, exemplifying general principles' — in other words, that this is a universe where everything happens as the result of the regular operation of cause and effect, in accordance with natural laws. This is fundamental and absolute; it applies to every single fact in the universe. Yet when it comes to the origin of the whole universe itself, from which the whole direction of events in the universe inevitably follows, the principle is deserted, and it is assumed that the cause of all is a sort of unthinkable causelessness, which is then named 'chance' — very illogically, since chance cannot conceivably mean that, or anything like that. A very competent writer on science, after quoting Plato to the effect that the whole creation results 'from the elements, not by any action of the mind, or of any god, or from art, but by nature and chance only', goes on to say, 'This theory, that everything has come about by chance, through the random action of "laws of nature", is probably still the most widely held theory amongst educated people'.¹ Consider the astonishing assumptions in this sentence. First, everything has come about by the action of laws of nature, that is to say, the laws of nature are active causes which make things happen. But they are not: they are only abstract statements as to *how* things happen, and have nothing whatever to do with causing them to happen. Second, the action of these laws of nature is random action; but how can any law of nature be random in its action? It cannot act at all, in this sense, but if it could, how could the action of any law be random? Action at random is not regular and related action, such as alone can exist when you are referring to a natural law. Third, everything has come about by chance, as we are told most educated people think.

¹ J. W. N. Sullivan, *Limitations of Science*, p. 96.

On this issue, one can only ask in simple wonder, what 'educated people' think they mean by 'chance'? Have they ever asked themselves what the word does mean? Chance is a most delusive conception as it is commonly employed, and yet the real meaning of it, the only possible meaning of it, is plain enough if we think for a moment or two. We speak, for example, of games of chance as against games of skill. In the latter a practised ability can bring about a result with more or less certainty, because the forces involved are known, and can be controlled, with more or less accuracy, as the expert billiard player can generally prophesy where the ball will go, because he can generally make it go where he likes. But in a game of chance no practice and no ability will enable us to say exactly what will happen, because the forces at work are less manageable and less calculable. If a pack of cards is thoroughly shuffled, and I am asked to pick one out, I cannot possibly say which card it will turn out to be, because I do not know, and could not remember if I did know, the original order of all the cards, much less see and remember every motion of every card while they are being shuffled, and consequently I do not know what card it is that I am selecting. So when we say that a certain card 'chances' to turn up in a game we really mean that we cannot foretell that result, because we do not know, and cannot control, all the conditions that bring about that result. We know that the appearance of that particular card at that particular juncture must be the result of the interplay of natural laws and natural forces, as much as the motion of the billiard ball is, but we cannot measure and manipulate the forces at work in the same way, and thus we cannot in the same way foretell the result. So we say the card 'chances' to come uppermost, and we mean by that that we do not know, until it does appear, that it is going to appear. If we could precisely calculate all the forces and combinations and possibilities that are involved in the shuffling of the pack, we know that we *could* prophesy that this particular card would turn up then. But we do not know all these factors; therefore we cannot prophesy the result, and so we say that it happens by 'chance'. That means merely that we do not know exactly what is going to happen, or exactly how it happens. No sane person thinks that the fact is uncaused: no one can think that. No one supposes for a moment that here is a thing that happens by itself, and of itself, without any relation whatever to anything else in the universe. That is literally and absolutely unthinkable. We know that the thing comes to pass, like everything else in the world, by the normal operation of regular laws and regular forces, but it happens that here we cannot trace all the causes that bring it about, and so cannot anticipate the result.

That is absolutely all that chance can possibly mean, whether we are speaking of a single event in the life of the universe, or whether we are speaking of the origin of the whole universe itself. Therefore to say that all things come about by chance is simply to hypostatize our own ignorance. It is not even to say that the cause of all things is causelessness, which one would think to be a sufficiently absurd and contradictory statement: it is even worse than that. It is to say that it is actually *our ignorance of the cause* that is the cause of all things. We have taken a limitation of our own knowledge, and deified it into the cause of all that is. 'Chance', which cannot mean more than 'we do not know

¹ cf. Butler, *Analogy of Religion*, II. 4, p. 201.

precisely how the thing comes to pass', is exalted into a cause, and finally into the original and universal cause of all things. Nothing could be more utterly irrational than that. It is reasonable to take the position of a theist, and to say that there is a Universal Cause, which is God. It is reasonable to take the position of an agnostic, and to say that there is a Universal Cause, though we do not know what it may be — which is only saying, in effect, that there is an Unknown God. But it is not in the least rational to say that the Universal Cause is merely our human ignorance of what the cause may be — which is all that can really be signified by the deceptive word 'chance'. What scientists who speak of the origin of all things as due to 'chance' *intend* to mean, is, of course, not that the origin of the universe, with all its purpose and direction, is unknown to us, but that there was no purpose and no direction at the beginning. But that is very improperly and illogically expressed by the term 'chance', which cannot possibly mean anything of the kind, as we have seen.

Moreover, the denial of purpose and direction at the beginning is the utter contradiction of what is assumed everywhere except at the beginning. The fundamental principle on which all science is based is that everything has a cause, but what this entirely irrational use of the term chance is meant to suggest is that everything ultimately has no cause, or (to reduce it to a paradox that would make the most paradoxical theologian blush) that mere causelessness is the cause of all that is!

The only rational answer to the final problem is that all the order of the universe is from a Universal Mind which designed it before the beginning, and which directs and effectuates all things continually. Now if that belief in God is admitted, there cannot be any scientific difficulty involved with regard to the religious experience of the believer where it connects with natural events, for if all the limitless interactions of natural laws and natural forces are ordered by God then He can direct the events of my life, and He can answer my prayer, if He will, and He can use unknown laws and forces in the universe (for even the most conceited scientist will not argue that we as yet know all the laws and forces that exist in the universe) to bring about events which are to us strange and supernatural.

HENRY BETT

THE AIM OF A THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE¹

WE are gathered here this afternoon to commemorate the founding of this College and the work it has sought to do in service to Christ's Church in the days that are behind us. We have prayed together, and given thanks for our pious benefactors who wrought nobly, not only in the schemes of building but in fulfilment of Christ's command that His labourers should go out into the field of the world. We have remembered those who in other days were teachers here — scholars and ministers, seeking to obey their vocation in the double duty of training pupils entrusted to them, and in a quest for truth

¹ Address given at the Commemoration Service in the Chapel of Handsworth College on 5th April 1946.

and yet more truth, for light and yet more light, upon the Christian way. We have remembered most of all the great company of those who were once of this fellowship, who walked these corridors and felt in themselves the changes which must inevitably shape and constrain a man as he works and lives with a company of like-minded people.

All that would belong to any and to every annual service of Commemoration. But today we meet with the profound thankfulness in our hearts that, within twelve months of the cessation of open hostilities on the Continent of Europe, it has been possible to reopen the College for its work of training men for the Methodist Ministry. There are those present who have twice in a lifetime seen this work interrupted for several years and taken up again, not precisely at the point at which it was disastrously stopped by war, but in a strange, new age where old foundations have been attacked and much left upon them was tottering. If that was true concerning the men who returned to theological training in 1919, how much more certain it is that we are confronted today with a task of immense size, enough to dwarf all our normal hopefulness, but one which we do not pretend to attempt in our own strength. We believe this is a part of Christ's continuing work in a world which never exposed to the spiritual eye more clearly and terribly than it does now man's need of God.

So much will be accepted by all right-thinking men, who recognize that this may be a 'last hour' in a truer sense than the apostle spoke those words; for we have had something shown to us which threatens to bring upon men, if they remain unrepentant in their sin, a doom which in every detail is apocalyptic. But we would dare to match it with a faith, perhaps no bigger than a grain of poppy-seed — there is nothing smaller that is so obviously prolific in our English landscape — but yet sufficient, by God's grace, to bring the revival of true religion into the hearts and homes of men.

Here we approach the aim of a theological college — as I dare to believe of every Christian theological college — and certainly of one which owes its tradition and life-blood to the creative spirit of the Methodist people. To this place men come from Methodist homes and churches: it is there, particularly in the local church, the society of worshipping people, that the discernment began which led to each man's acceptance of the highest vocation possible for him. Let me add at once that this constant principle of the double call, from representatives of the church, as well as from a man's private, deep conviction, has not been altered even by the processes of war. No man comes here — or to any other Methodist theological college — simply because he desires to come. We do seek to read divinity here; but a man who desired to study theology in any of its branches could not be a member of the College simply for that reason, however ardent he might be as a student. No; young men come here because already their private resolution has been matched by a belief on the part of their Church that they are potential preachers and pastors; here are men who have heard Christ say, 'Follow Me!', and upon whom at length shall come a fuller power of the Holy Spirit that they may go out to proclaim 'recovering of the sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord'. In the camp, on the battlefield, in little craft and big, in the narrow seas and the far oceans, that initial watchfulness of the Church has been ready to mark those who, in the midst of faithful

and hard duty for country and for liberty, were yet growing their souls in the service of their Saviour. It would ill become us today did we not recognize that by such service as theirs and their comrades, we are left free to worship, to think, and to speak. No enemy censorship is exercised upon our doctrine, nor are we driven underground to maintain what has been committed into our keeping. For all that we must, and we do, give thanks. To that company of our students from His Majesty's Forces is added the number of those who have already served in the full life of the churches and the community. They come to some months or years of study — alas, too hurried and too few — with a sense already borne in upon their hearts, unforgettably, of what it means to minister in holy things to the young and the old, to the aspiring and the fainting: they have known the incidence of calamity, sin, and even war in the lives of our people in towns and villages. Here, then, is our present body corporate.

On 13th June 1824 John Henry Newman was ordained a deacon, and on the same day he wrote to his mother, using these memorable words: 'I have the responsibility of souls on me to the day of my death.' It is the true description of a man whose vocation has been accepted and ratified. We expect such a word to awaken echoes in the hearts of all those who ever come here. Apart from that we have no reason to exist. It is with certainty that such remains the sure ground for our work that we can contemplate our aim.

The theological college is, in a special sense, a house of learning. It is a pitiful thought that one should ever need to defend the cause of true learning or have to explain its function in the service of the Gospel. But there still exist practising Christians who doubt the value of an inquiring, diligent mind. They would not dream of employing an architect who had not learned what stresses and strains could legitimately be put upon walls and beams, or ever call in a doctor if they suspected that he could not translate the sounds heard in his stethoscope; but yet they believe that a trained mind may dull the edge of a man's spiritual sword or steal the zest from his heart. We can more easily refute such well-meaning people (for theirs is often a genuine ignorance) than those who do, indeed, expect the ministry to be trained, but ask that the training should be on peculiar and novel lines, lines not well marked in well-nigh two thousand years through which God has never allowed the light of spiritual learning and diligence to pass from the earth. Ours is not the first age in which the seas of paganism have swept with high and furious tides, nor the first in which the gusty brutality of man has seemed to be unbridled. There have been times of serenity — but they did not last. Bede, at Jarrow, when all the Continent seemed to be endangered with darkness, felt himself secure in his monastery, and could write:

Spending all the remaining time of my life in that monastery, I wholly applied myself to the study of the Scripture, and amidst the observance of regular discipline and the daily care of singing in the church, I always took delight in learning, teaching, and writing.¹

It was all too short a time before the onrush of the Danes brought fire and horror. Or, to skip the centuries and many famous names, one may think of

¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, Book V, p. 283.

Samuel Wesley, the Rector of Epworth, perplexed about money matters, parochial affairs, family problems, yet exulting because, though he had but five pounds to sustain himself and his family for the six months until harvest time, 'Wherever I am, my Jack is Fellow of Lincoln'.¹ But his Jack had discernment beyond normal prescience: the other fellows of Lincoln and, in Gibbon's ironic phrase, 'the monks of Magdalen' might be secure. He, like Bede before him and Newman after him, had 'the responsibility of souls' on him to the day of his death: and part of that responsibility was carried and sustained by sound learning.

It is the avowed aim of this College to attempt to discover in the heart of every student and to foster continually this deep sense of responsibility without which the cure of souls cannot be undertaken effectively. But sometimes it happens curiously that men who have sympathy with an evangelical motive overlook one of the chief supports that the true evangelist needs, namely a finely formed and instructed conviction which can bear him forward in his work, and with real faith, when there is no sign of outward success to encourage him nor any pulse of emotion to warm him. There are times — there must be many such — when in the lives of Christian ministers high feeling does not exist. At such times the maintenance of duty depends upon what is thoroughly and truly known. There must be faith in knowledge as well as faith in emotion aroused by kindled love. That is one of the functions of Christian knowledge. It is not a disparagement of religion or of evangelical work to state such facts without apology, though, as we have already noticed, there are people whose assessment of spiritual worth is only tested by feeling aroused and displayed.

Further, to anybody acquainted with pastoral work, it does not seem absurd or strange that a convinced and instructed mind can awaken not only conviction but passion in the life of a convert. Fire can be kindled with live coals: it can also be kindled by cold steel. I have known genuine and lasting conversion to ardent Christian life by the ministry of the mind and the Christian presentation of truth. It would be entirely wrong if we, as successors of Wesley, were to disown our love of 'the heart strangely warmed': it would also be wrong if we missed the potential evangelical value of the trained mind.

Here we must approach the old, familiar problem. When a man comes to college, what means can best be employed to train him as a true and able minister of Christ? 'What do you teach men?' is the question usually put; and it is often followed closely by another: 'But why those particular subjects?' And, of course, it is a question asked with some apprehension by the newly-arrived student himself. He does not always take to the curriculum as a duck takes to water. He may even be tempted to believe that his own bent and nature deserve a different element in which to live and grow. If he longs to preach, but must actually give precious hours to mastering irregular verbs, or, having a passion for social service in East London, finds himself expected to learn something of the heresies of ancient Alexandria, it is not to be wondered at that he may not immediately see the point and purpose of either New Testament Greek or Early Church History. He may, in time, discover in the East End people whose strange ways and beliefs awaken a vague sense of

¹ Vulliamy, *John Wesley*, p. 24.

familiarity — and, behold, he has found in his ministry in England what Origen confronted seventeen hundred years earlier in Alexandria. There is, I suspect, a dark and sinister fallen angel whose special office it is to tempt not only theological students to doubt the value of certain essential prescribed subjects, but people, otherwise acute enough, who would substitute — shall we say? — political economy for the study of the Old Testament, and that new indeterminate subject, 'civics' — a consideration of housing, drains, and citizens' obligations — for what St. John or St. Augustine meant by being members of 'The City of God'.

Let no one suppose that the affairs of daily life as they affect the lives of men and women are not of great concern to the minister of the Gospel. They are. But it is surely an error to suppose that the minister must be the equivalent of the insurance agent, the social welfare or relieving officer. If he is, it will certainly be at the expense of those perennial matters which have to do with the inner condition of men's lives, and their allegiance to God. We must therefore keep an eye on the true goal and aim of all learning that is sought or taught in a theological college. *It should produce men of God.* If the minister of the future is not a man of God, His servant in all his ways, he will be, perhaps, of some little service to his fellows in the social organization of life, but he will not be at ease in the 'glorious company of the Apostles'.

During recent years there have been various commissions and committees of inquiry regarding the training of the Christian Ministry. In the several branches of the Christian Church there has been genuine concern because of the decline of religion in the lives and homes of men; and search has quite properly been made into the ways of training the ministry. Was there, perhaps, something faulty there? It would be true to say, I think, that we have been guilty of many errors of omission. There are matters to which attention should have been paid. One emphasis is common to all the findings, a stress laid especially upon the need for practical training of the minister in what will be his daily duties. If he is to be a man of books, at least send him out among people who are not academically minded with ability to talk to them and live with them in an obviously interested manner. Bridge the gulf between the pulpit and the pew! Let us gladly acknowledge the benefit of this emphasis which has been put upon the pastoral training of theological students. It is an effort into which we will gladly put our best in this place, for it is of prime importance. Of what use to send preachers if they are not heard? Of what use to expect them to minister to people on Sundays if they have not readiness to love their folk and share their lives in joy and sorrow, in work and play?

But what has emerged from honest inquiry has been this — that social problems and pastoral psychology, or voice production and administrative ability, necessary or advisable as they are, yet take second place to what in all the ages have been considered the main articles of staple diet for the man preparing to enter the Christian Ministry. The need today is not for less, but for more Biblical Study, for only thus, when hungry sheep look up, can they be fed. Inevitably it should mean that men capable of the pursuit should be taught the languages in which the sacred texts are written. And for all students, since they are of the English tongue, it means loving familiarity with our incomparable native versions. The letter is not always divorced from the

spirit. The letter should be the medium and symbol for the spirit. And if the sorry condition of the world today points to a need for houses and clothes does it not point much more to a spiritual need which is both recognized and met in the pages of Holy Scripture?

One of the pathetic fallacies of this age deludes us into self-pity and persistent dismay because we feel that we, more than any other men who have ever lived, are the victims of terrible mischance and probable disaster. The Bible shows men who have endured horrors, physical and spiritual, not to be out-matched even in our time: it shows them triumphant because of God's revelation to them and through them. Whatever else the minister needs to read, it should not be at the expense of his grounding in God's word. Nor should a young man of this age be easily misled into thinking he can dispense with a study of history so far as his faith is concerned. A shallow appreciation of contemporary or merely recent events may make a man familiar with the latest alinement of parties and policies: it will not give to him that grand survey, as from a high vantage point, which should belong to any prophetic seeker. The combats of the faith in other days enlighten us as to the probable attacks of spiritual foes in our own times. It has been said very wisely that only the past truly belongs to man; for the present is in flux, and the future is unknown; but what is past can be seen in perspective. Perspective for the spiritual man, as he discerns the life and power of a Francis or a Wesley, will increase his ability to diagnose the present, and certainly it will sustain him when otherwise he might falter. Add to these, which have to do with the great facts of 'the ways of God to men' and the background, the hinterland of our own religious life whence flows the river of God's grace, the high discourse of theology. 'Never mind about what people believe: get on with the job! Such is the counsel of this energetic but petulant age in which we live. It offers such counsel and is, alas! all too blind to the fact that belief in wrong has been passionate, idolatrous, but yet it has been a belief, and it has brought ruin to homes beyond counting. Discernment has not yet come that only by knowing the rightness in God's sight of what we believe can the Holy Spirit truly foster in us, and through us, the ways which Christ first wrought. Facile orthodoxy is to be discouraged as much as blatant individualism. In this age, when talkers are many but men of thought and prayer are few, we should prize the opportunity and the effort by which what is false declares itself gradually to the growing mind, and the fine certainties of that faith which was once delivered to the saints proclaims its majesty, its adequacy of philosophy and adaptability to all the transient needs of a troubled age as well as to the unchanging wants of the human spirit. This opportunity is given supremely to men in college.

In connexion with the training of the personality, it is right that we should look for a moment at the matter of the relationship between the theological college on the one hand and the University on the other; and there is a further relationship — that between theological colleges belonging to various denominations.

Some colleges take their men from the University, and from no other source. Their curriculum and their work are likely to be more specialized than that of colleges whose members have come from a variety of occupations, or, as all

present, from the Forces of the Crown and essential duties done for the nation. This college — and it is typical of an increasing number — cherishes the thought that experience in the school of life is of essential value to the minister. Something can be learned in the office or factory, in the mine or on board ship, of life and men in a way which is quite different from the experience of the schoolboy who goes on to the University. What is fatal — and it is happily a rare occurrence — is that snobbish view which sets the one kind of experience over against the other. It was a famous preacher, an evangelist with experience of work in four continents, who said to me: 'I would never ordain a minister until he had had at least twelve months of experience in the world, earning his own living without any kind of protection beyond the normal spiritual protection of God's grace — away from family, neighbourhood, church. But — and this is just as important — I would also want all my men to have been in close touch with a University.' Now that man was himself a non-University man; and his tribute is therefore all the more significant.

We hope it will become increasingly possible to link up the theological student with the University. In former days it was more necessary to look upon the denominational college as a seminary; but surely, quite apart from the value of instruction to be gained from University teachers, it is most desirable that young men who will be ministers should have some contact with future lawyers, medical men, scientists. The exchange of views between young men who are shaping out toward their life's work is of unique advantage to them. It is not only the theological student who needs this contact. The medical student and the potential schoolmaster need it just as badly. Moreover, it should be the aim of a theological college to encourage communion, which means, among other things, fellowship and intercourse, with other kinds of theological colleges. The free Churchman may profit by meeting men who specially prize liturgical worship: the Catholic may derive benefit from those who stoutly hold that there is a sacrament which is of the Word.

We turn now to something which has been implied, I hope, in everything that has been said.

The theological college is, above all, a house of unique friendship, a place where men of similar calling are given unique opportunities for fellowship and intimate discussion of any and every matter that has to do with life. Newman's description of the function of a College in a University may be caught out of its context and used of this College. Like so much that Newman wrote, it has in it a touch of nostalgia. He was, I suppose, thinking of Oriel and Trinity with the snapdragon on the wall, the heat and glory of a summer day, and the bees murmuring in the limes:

It is all and does all which is implied in the name of home. . . . Moreover it is the shrine of our best affections, the bosom of our fondest recollections, a spell upon our after-life, a stay for world-weary mind and soul, wherever we are cast, till the end comes.¹

Those of us whose time is now spent in teaching remember, and we will not be outdone in our claims even by the present generation of students, that what

¹ *Historical Sketches*, Vol. III, p. 214.

we value dearly from our student days, and what has sustained us in our ministry, has been the comradeship begun in study and common-room, in walks and games and worship. It is an axiom, almost, with the freshman, that the student is the man who counts, and the *only* man who counts, in the college. May one dare to say that the circle of friendship here is not confined to one body of the members of the College, nor ought it to be without grievous loss? Tutors and students have much to give each other; and this, I am glad to think, they do in a common life where the older man counts it his privilege to be a brother in the Ministry with someone who a few weeks or months ago was not of this family, but now is of this family. In a sense unknown by other men, members of the Methodist Ministry have a bond of union and common experience which becomes their life's most treasured possession. 'Know you the secret none can utter?' It is acquired in the theological college.

Such friendship begins here; but it does not end here. It never ends; not in life or death. And sad is he, and foolish, moreover, who fails to discern its value, not simply for temporal needs but in the eternal fashioning of his spirit. I know nothing more pathetic than to be physically within this fellowship and secretly not of it. Here is something which provides, through youth and age, a resource against the unknown, and it will yield us both precept and example. A young missionary, recently returned from China and harsh internment, said that the remembrance of his College, and particularly the knowledge that he was still of its fellowship of prayer, had kept him up when otherwise he would have fallen. So also another man of senior years told me once that when he was in India tragedy befell him in his lonely outpost. His wife, his bride only a few weeks before, was stricken down, and he was left, the only white man there, not only to tend and nurse to death, but to bury her in the jungle. And then, he said, bewildered and devastated as he was, he remembered how, in student days, one night word stole through the College from man to man that in the Governor's house tragedy had happened. They awoke next morning to know that a lady they revered was gone. Would the Governor be at prayer that morning? They did not expect him. But as the bell rang, they saw him come as usual to his place. And now, many years later, it was the memory of that example which bore up the missionary in his own bitter loss and immediate duties. He buried his wife in the jungle, and he went on with his work.

How could we hope for a spiritual life so fine and strong?

The answer brings us to where we are, to the Chapel, the symbol of our highest calling and perpetual service.

When William of Wykeham founded New College in 1379, the building of the College was to be such that the Chapel was the most prominent, as it was the most necessary, feature of the quadrangle; the hall, originally the place of instruction as well as a refectory, being secondary to it, and the private rooms received scanty consideration, being little more than cells. The emphasis was the right one; first came the service to God, second the social fellowship. It remains for us today in this place to be able to preserve what has so tragically been lost in many educational institutions. Quite literally, in Handsworth all paths lead to the Chapel, and here we would seek to bring all the affairs of our life.

In a world where the Divine Service — daily, regular, and serious — has been largely lost, we would reckon it to be our first communal duty to maintain the ministry of prayer and praise. Of course, it will be obvious that the maintenance of the service, taken in course as it is by tutors and students, has its effect upon our lives. Here we must exercise our choice as to the point and purpose of the various acts of worship; here we must preach and accept the reminder of our responsibility for souls among ourselves. Nothing would be more fatal to the work of the College than that the true spirituality we say we seek should, in fact, be contradicted because artificiality and mere routine had taken the place of fellowship with God. Our discussion groups, Society class-meetings, and other forms of spiritual expression and exercise have all their own unique part to play — and it should not be forgotten that one of the few places in which the genuine Methodist class-meeting is to be found is within the theological colleges — but yet the Chapel is paramount in its claims, first of all upon our duty, and almost immediately upon our affection. And so, not merely at the morning and evening prayer every day, but at all times, this is the place to which a man instinctively and gratefully comes. The problem of the mind as well as of the personal life, the consecration of time to be given to preaching on Sundays in churches round about, all this, and much more, is associated with the beauty and quietness of this sanctuary, where the Bread is broken and the Wine poured and the Blessing received. It is the place of our service; and a college — which means, originally, 'a body of colleagues with common functions and privileges' — has as its highest aim the greater glory of God in its expression of worship.

That inevitably has its own unique result. The aim is not to impress the mould of this particular teacher or that, of this cast of doctrine or that, but that here what God intended when He first created the souls of His servants should be unhampered and directly helped. The Chapel is, we pray and believe, the place of revelation — where through the business and clamour of life a Voice may yet be heard — holy, unmistakable, personal. If men should forget all else, this, the direct speaking of God in their hearts, we pray, may remain; and our continual aim must be to take any and every means to make this possible.

One cold afternoon this winter I stood in the chancel of Lichfield Cathedral watching a craftsman fitting back into their places the many-coloured pieces of Flemish glass which had been removed for preservation during the War. As his skilled fingers shaped this confusion of colours and odd shapes toward a final glorious pattern, I saw the aim of a theological college. It is, in a sentence, to let the hands of Christ take again in this harsh world the lives that have discerned they can only come to completion through Him, and fit them into the purpose of His Church that the glory of God may be discerned and the souls of men be brought to their perpetual peace.

HAROLD S. DARBY

WESLEY AND SANCTIFICATION

THE Senior Seminar in Dogmatics in the University of Uppsala has been discussing with some closeness Wesley's teaching on Sanctification. Under the inspiring leadership of Professor Hjalmar Lindroth, the Theological Faculty in this famous Swedish university has encouraged the scrutiny of all that the Founder of Methodism had to say about the way of holiness, and one fine fruit of the work is a book by Harald Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*.¹ It will warm the heart of that small but convinced band of scholars who have earnestly maintained in Britain that this doctrine is neglected treasure, that Swedish scholarship has subjected it to so careful an examination, elucidated the connexion in Wesley's mind between sanctification and justification, and shown with plainness the 'internal links' in his 'order of salvation'. It will be a little less easy in the future for the scornful to scoff at Wesley's amazing preoccupation with perfection, or ignore it as a pitiful aberration in an otherwise sober mind.

It is well known that Wesley said concerning the doctrine of Scriptural Holiness (sometimes called Christian Perfection, Entire Sanctification, or Perfect Love): 'This doctrine is the grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly He appeared to have raised us up.'²

Yet if one had only the slightest interest in the opinions of the Founder of Methodism, any honest consideration of life from a religious or ethical viewpoint would bring the need of holiness swift to the forefront of one's mind. The world's poverty in holiness cries aloud to Heaven. Sin, in all its multitudinous forms, speaks out this patent lack. It is the way of zealots, peddling their own peculiar nostrum for the cure of the world's ills, to say: 'The one thing we need . . .', but so often they complete their sentence with some little ecclesiastical prejudice which provokes nothing in us but a smile. If there is any value in reducing the world's clamant needs to this degree of singularity, then the one thing we need is *holiness*. All other needs are pendent on it. It is so central and primary that it may be said without exaggeration that if we sought and found this — all other things would be added unto us.

Consider how true this is concerning the Church.

(1) It is commonly said that the Church needs *revival*. Holiness would bring revival. It was of revival that Lacordaire was thinking when he said: 'O God! give us some saints.'

That was why almost all France (with any spiritual insight at all) went to Ars in the third and fourth decades of the last century to see the most lowly born and ill-instructed priest in the country because he was a saint, and a saint can arrest a worldling. That is why many of the most discerning people among us today argue that it is not a mission we need most to the people quite estranged from the Church, but a mission to those who are inside. Holiness would bring revival.

(2) Holiness would bring spiritual power. It is given by the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is also the Spirit of Power: the Lord and Giver of Life. The world could not long ignore a holy Church. It is because there is not enough difference today between the Church and the world that the former

¹ Nya Bokförlags Aktiebolaget, 12s.

² *The Letters of John Wesley* (Standard Edition), Vol. VIII, p. 238.

fails to be impressive, but in a Church where saints were as common as they are now rare, the difference would smite by its contrast.

(3) Holiness would answer unbelief. It would not answer it by logic, and the work of the Christian philosopher would still need to be done, but it would destroy its pertness and nourish the will to venture — which is ever the essence of faith. Voltaire and Edgar Wallace — both of whom knew the underworld in their different ways, and found faith hard — found it impossible to take up their permanent abode in unbelief. They both knew a Methodist saint.¹ Saints have this sublime distinction. They make it well-nigh impossible for other people to deny the faith.

(4) Holiness is the highway to reunion. All who long and pray for the reunion of God's dismembered Church are on their guard against the people who are in such haste for this end that they believe (grotesquely enough) that the end can be achieved by further 'chopping-off'. It is a kind of unholy barter. 'If we give up this, will you give up that?' They would strip themselves (and others) of all distinctiveness, and deny, by implication, that the idiosyncrasies of personality might be as dear to God in a denomination as in an individual. The kind of Church they would make at the end might be 'one' but it would be neither 'Holy, Catholic, nor Apostolic'.

The saints would show them the way. 'Get near to the Cross and you get near to one another.' The saints of all Communion are already members of one Communion. They know each other when they meet. Deep calleth unto deep. The ecclesiastics toil and moil to get a formula — as, indeed, they must — but the saints have outsoared their labour. First the sign . . . and then the countersign! One glance at Keble's face convinced a bewildered Roman Catholic that there was holiness outside his Church. Few men better understood or more highly appraised the work of Dale in Birmingham (that 'unworldly man of the world') than his distinguished fellow-townsmen, John Henry Newman.

It will be said, however, in comment on all this that the importance of holiness is not in dispute, but that it was in no sense a monopoly of John Wesley's even in the England of the eighteenth century. It was partly true then, and it is certainly true now, that the concern about it, and the quest after it, is in all the Churches. And, of course, it is.

What the students and closest followers of Wesley claim is an emphasis in their teaching upon it, and an accent in their enunciation of it which is unique in all the major branches of the Christian Church. They hold that this teaching is firmly set in the Scriptures but was neglected, in the evangelical understanding of it, for centuries, and that John Wesley was speaking words of truth and soberness when he said that 'for the sake of propagating this chiefly' God had raised His people up.

Can this claim be made out? If, indeed, sanctity is the great end of God for us all, and His purpose through the ages moves toward this speechless consummation; if, in the reckonings of Heaven, a saint outshines the loftiest prince, or ripest scholar, or most exquisite artist (though he *might* be any one of these

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IX, p. 373. Abbey and Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 113. Margaret Lane, *Edgar Wallace*, p. 84.

as well) — then the appearance of sanctity is of immense importance *anywhere* and the study of its growth and cultivation should command the attention of all reverent men. If, moreover, in adoring wonder the claim is made by humble, holy men to have discovered in the Scriptures the source of new power for holiness, and if the claim is attested by a succession of living witnesses who file unbroken through half a dozen generations . . . then this witness simply cannot be ignored. It is not a denominational idiosyncrasy: it matters to the whole Church of God. It cannot be a sectarian peculiarity: it is part of the priceless treasure of Christendom.

Now, that is the claim made for John Wesley's approach to holiness. Methodist theologians hold — while still debating aspects of the doctrine between themselves — that Wesley effected 'an original and unique synthesis of the Protestant ethic of grace with the Catholic ethic of holiness'.¹ They claim originality for Wesley here only in the sense that he first drew out what was already securely set in the Scriptures. They believe — marvelling, almost, at the audacity of their belief — that no other branch of the Church is so committed by its divine commission or standards of doctrine to this precise emphasis, and that Methodism's task will remain unfinished until all the ransomed Church of God have seen this gleaming facet of truth.

The uniqueness of Wesley's contribution to theological thought in this regard can best be drawn out by showing what need both Protestantism and Catholicism have of each other when the quest for holiness is in mind.

Disinclined as some students of Reformation theology are to admit it, it cannot honestly be doubted that Luther's teaching does not deal seriously enough with the moral problem. His own most distinguished interpreters have admitted so much.² His immense (and Scriptural) stress upon faith — and faith only — was left unbalanced by the lack of a complementary passion for holiness. Unwittingly, he left the door ajar to antinomianism.

Nor is it hard to see how this could happen. Underline the worthlessness of our own righteousness; emphasize the utter pollution of human nature; put it beyond hope that, even by grace, one may live a day without sin in thought, word, and deed (as the Westminster Catechism does),³ and then stress faith and faith only . . . and, in this world of purblind sinners, misunderstanding is sure to arise.

The misunderstandings arose. They arose, not so much from the falsity in what had been said, as from the unbalance which results from leaving much unsaid. It is plain, historical fact — grotesque, as it was, as an interpretation of Luther — that many claimed to be living in faith while repudiating any interest in a holy life. Indeed, their perverted theory of faith *required* them to display a certain scorn of holiness. Deep concern about right living was labelled 'Pharisaism'. They called those who held it 'enemies of the Lamb'. Some of them got drunk, lapsed into lying and adultery, and defended themselves by saying: 'The Lamb shall have the honour of saving me: I will not offer to save myself like you Pharisees.'⁴

¹G. C. Cell, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*, p. 347. Umphrey Lee, *John Wesley and Modern Religion*, p. 190.

²e.g. Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Vol. VII, p. 267 (E.T.).

³*Westminster Confession: The Larger Catechism*, Q. 149.

⁴*The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, Vol. I, p. 140 (1871 Edition).

Now, Wesley had to face that actual situation. If it seems an academic point now, it was plain and practical then. It baffled him for a while: how it could be so? what deficient note in Protestant theology had made this caricature possible? Finally, he traced it back through his loved Moravians to a serious unbalance in Luther's theology. Wesley had been brought by the Spirit of God to his own evangelical conversion by Luther's Preface to Paul's Epistle to the Romans: now he reads Luther's *Commentary on Galatians* — and he is shaken to the depths. He describes himself as 'utterly ashamed'. He marvels 'how blasphemously' Luther speaks 'of good works and of the law of God'.¹ He openly warned his congregations against the *Commentary* and turned, with deeper longing than ever, to the Ante-Nicene fathers and the rich treasures of Catholic spirituality.

No wonder, therefore, that some in the main stream of Protestant theology came to regard Wesley as half a renegade and mistakenly assumed that he had reverted to the idea of working his passage to Heaven by accumulated good deeds. This great little man knew, in his own lifetime, the bane and blessing which the denomination he unwillingly founded has known ever since: a foot in each camp: a mid-position begotten, not by irresolution, or muddled thinking, but begotten (as Wesley believed) by loyalty to the truth.

Luther's attitude to the quest for holiness has remained an influence in Protestantism ever since. It can be traced clearly through four hundred years. It comes out in characteristic sayings of men like Count Zinzendorf² and P. T. Forsyth,³ and explains why 'perfectionist' is a term of mild scorn among many modern Protestant theologians. Professor John Baillie rightly admits that 'the main development of Reformation thought estimates very lightly the possibility of the acquisition of holiness during this present life'.⁴ Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, discussing 'the issue upon which the Protestant Reformation separated itself from classical Catholicism', argues that the peace which Paul had found in Christ must have 'moral content in it, a fact which Reformation theology tends to deny'.⁵ A militant Protestant theologian like Dr. Cadoux says: '... there is a special ethical intensity which, without injustice to the morals of Protestantism, may yet truthfully be predicated of the Catholic character'.⁶

The master passion of Wesley's life for thirteen years before his evangelical conversion was holiness, and deeply as he admired Luther in some ways, he could never come to terms with what he regarded as this major defect in Lutheran theology. He contended that God could do something more with sin than forgive it. To say that God can save us *in* sinning is not enough, Wesley argued: He can save us *from* sinning. Wesley believed that over-much stress upon the *imputation* of righteousness can blind us to the *impartation* of it. The plea for a little harboured sin on the ground that it keeps one humble (a plea made in every generation) is a plea he would never allow.

To Wesley it bordered on the blasphemous to set any limit to what the grace of God could do with a soul, even on this earth. No man, he believed, was equipped to come forward and say: 'God cannot do *this* . . . and will not do

¹ *The Journal of John Wesley* (Standard Edition), Vol. II, p. 467.

² John Wesley, *The Journal of John Wesley*, Vol. II, p. 490.

³ *Christian Perfection*, pp. 12, 84, 134.

⁴ *Invitation to Pilgrimage*, p. 71.

⁵ *Christianity and Power Politics*, pp. 18f. (My italics.)

⁶ *Catholicism and Christianity*, p. 77.

that.' To take such a view (with the New Testament open before one) seemed to the Founder of Methodism dangerously near to disbelieving God. To hold the fixed conviction in one's mind that God cannot break the power of cancelled sin and set the prisoner free, requires that one must always mentally provide for sin, and runs counter to Paul's injunction: 'Make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.' The desiring heart fixes upon 'inevitability' as an ever-ready excuse, for no man can press on confidently and unswervingly to what he has already decided is utterly unattainable.

But how did Wesley defend himself in his own mind against the charge of Protestant zealots (some of whom called him a 'Papist') that he was reverting to salvation by works and bringing his people again under the domination of a rigorous legal code? In what sense was his great preoccupation with holiness to be distinguished from that of the Catholic saints he so much admired or from the general pursuit of sanctity as practised in the Roman Church?

Wesley repudiated the double standard of morality implied in the Roman system: one for ordinary men and women and one for the 'religious'. There is but one standard for all. Holiness does not require the segregated life of the convent and the monastery for its serious pursuit. The holy life must be lived in the world. To refuse life is hardly less heinous than to abuse life. To use life for God where men buy and sell, sin and suffer: where babes are born and economic problems press upon the parents: where wills clash and the Christ-filled soul can serve as reconciler . . . *there* is the sphere of holy living as Jesus Christ Himself showed. So Charles Wesley taught his friends to sing:

Not in the tombs we pine to dwell,
Not in the dark monastic cell,
By vows and grates confined;
Freely to all ourselves we give,
Constrained by Jesu's love to live
The servants of mankind.¹

But the difference is deeper than that. From much brooding in the Book of God Wesley came to believe that faith, which, on any honest scrutiny of the New Testament, is so mightily approved by God in justification, is mightily used by God in *sanctification* as well: that the way to the sublime goal is not the way of classical Catholicism — segregation, asceticism, midnight vigils, scourging, and maceration — but the way of daring faith, claiming from God the gift of perfect love and being maintained in a moment-by-moment life of dependence on Him. Holiness cannot be *achieved*, Wesley taught: it is a *gift* of God. It is given in answer to faith and can be given in a moment. It is best described as 'perfect love'. It is positive, therefore, with all the energy of love, but plainly supernatural. It does not run on lines of mere affinity: it loves where, by human nature, it could not like. Those who have this gift find that God 'is their one desire, their one delight, and they are continually happy in Him. They love their neighbour as themselves. They feel as sincere, fervent, constant a desire for the happiness of every man — good or bad, friend or enemy — as for their own. They rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in everything give

¹ *Methodist Hymn-book* (1904 Edition), No. 599.

thanks. Their souls are continually streaming up to God in holy joy, prayer, and praise.¹

Sin is mastered by this divine gift and ceases to have dominion over the adoring recipient. He is still subject to infirmity, ignorance, and mistake, but he can serve God now with a sensitive conscience, and yet a conscience void of offence. For what has been wrought in him, he gives all the glory to God, and the discerning know him by his humbling humility. He murmurs with Paul: 'We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein?' . . . Our old man was crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin . . . But now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, we have our fruit unto sanctification.²

It would be idle to deny that great controversy has raged around the explanation of this doctrine, though it can be said that there is a complete answer to most of the objections that are raised.

Any student taking up its study for the first time would do well never to lose sight of two things which together constitute the strength of this doctrine as the Methodists understand it: first, the whole thing is flung back upon God and, secondly, the stress falls not on difficult definitions of 'perfection' or on academic discussions of the *summum bonum* but on the need ever to keep the supreme goal in view.

And this, at least, is incontrovertible. When serious theologians claim that Wesley made 'an original and unique synthesis of the Protestant ethic of grace with the Catholic ethic of holiness', they are saying something of major importance.

It is of major importance in Methodism itself. One of the tragedies of this branch of the Church is to be found in her neglect of the very doctrine God raised her up to recover. It is not understood, seldom preached, half hidden by some (who apologize when they mention it) and left, alas! to people who have been labelled (justly or unjustly) as 'cranks'.

Many Ministers in Methodism do not even esteem the doctrine as a treasure, and would part with it with a yawn. When they hear that a considerable theologian of another Communion — like Dr. R. W. Dale of Birmingham — spoke of this teaching with profound respect but marvelled at the 'want of the genius or the courage' to develop in Methodism the treasure which Wesley had left — they are mildly interested but not obviously eager to provide 'the genius or the courage' he called for. Many of the more thoughtful Ministers of Methodism are drawn — as well they might be in some ways — to the Neo-Calvinist school in theology but do not seem (so far as my observation goes) to be sufficiently aware of all that was involved in the clash between Methodism and Calvinism in the eighteenth century, nor the extent of the victory their spiritual fathers won.

These new allegiances may cost them more than they know. At least, they should see with clear eyes what this shift in emphasis involves, and how it may lead them definitely away from the historic mission of their Church. 'The main development of Reformation thought', we have been reminded, 'estimates very lightly the possibility of the acquisition of holiness during this present life.'

¹ *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, p. 90.

² Romans, vi, 2, 6, 22.

Methodism estimates it very highly. 'That there must be and there is more content in the peace a Christian enjoys in Christ is', we have been informed, 'a fact which Reformation theology tends to deny.' It is a fact which Methodism would die to affirm. When Dr. Cadoux says that Protestantism is inferior 'in a special ethical intensity which . . . may yet truthfully be predicated of the Catholic character', he must be understood as describing the Protestantism he knows best. Methodists, at least, would want to add this: 'We are committed by our very standards to keep an immense stress on holiness. God forgive us if our friends and neighbours are unaware of it, but we are not truly ourselves when the emphasis is not there.'

Maybe this is the explanation of the fact that there has often been a penetrating understanding of Methodists by Roman Catholics, and of Roman Catholics by Methodists: why, for instance, a Franciscan friar like Professor Maximin Piette could write with such amazing insight of John Wesley,¹ and why such characteristic Methodists as Samuel Chadwick² and A. E. Whitham should feed with such naturalness and nourishment in the wide fields of Catholic spirituality. Despite the failures of both Communion — and what branch of Christ's Church fully lives up to its own ideals? — a burning vision of sanctity beckons alike these pilgrims on.

It may be asked to what extent the recent examination at Uppsala of Wesley's teaching has extended our knowledge of the doctrine.

In this way.

Never before has the coherence of Wesley's teaching on sanctification been set out in the scheme of his theology taken as a whole. The false notion that his idea of entire sanctification was a 'rider' to his theology, a detachable portion in no sense integrated to the main body of his teaching, is plainly exposed. You cannot throw away Wesley's teaching here and readily assume that now he is like any other theologian in the Reformed tradition. The teaching is a unity from man dead in trespasses and sins to man dead to the world. Differ with him if you must, but don't misunderstand him so completely as to suppose that entire sanctification is just 'stuck on' to Arminian Anglicanism — or Lutheranism — or Calvinism — just according to the bias of the hasty reader. Even his opponents did not deny Wesley a logical mind. The internal links of that logic in his scheme of salvation have been made clearer by this able book.

There are other gains as well. Some — though not all — of the apparent inconsistencies of Wesley's teaching are splendidly cleared up by sharper definition. No man corresponding on this theme for half a century can be expected to use his terms in precisely equivalent senses every time, and a phrase picked here and there from Wesley and not panelled into his teaching as a whole can easily mislead. The 'stages' of salvation with Wesley, as Lindström sets them out, will clarify thought: the effects of prevenient grace; repentance before justification and the fruits of this repentance; justification and the new birth; repentance after justification and the fruits of this repentance; Christian perfection; final justification and glorification.

The author keeps to his aim to offer 'a systematic theological study' of sanctification. The Biblical basis of the teaching is not examined (except by

¹ *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism.*

² N. Dunning, *Samuel Chadwick.*

implication); the psychological problems it raises never come under review; the plain practical difficulties are outside his scope.

Wesley's dependence on William Law — and independence of him — receive notice, and the centrality of the idea of love is worked out.

Lindström does not believe that Wesley ever claimed entire sanctification himself. The oft-quoted passages of Christmas Eve and Christmas Day 1744 simply do not sustain that interpretation. Wesley was as capable as his friend John Fletcher of making the unequivocal statement: 'I am cleansed from all sin', and there is *no* proof that he ever made it.

We may be glad that it is so. We can offer people in Christ's name the gift of Perfect Love without exhorting them to proclaim that they are cleansed from all sin, and if it pains us in that moment to remember that we are not following the advice of John Wesley it will comfort us to remember that we *are* following his example.

W. E. SANGSTER

THE COMPULSION OF CHRIST¹

WHAT has brought you here? Is it the conviction 'Necessity is laid upon me; for woe unto me if I preach not the Gospel'? Nothing else will do, especially today. We are just emerging from a great war. The cry, 'Woe, woe, woe, for them that dwell upon the earth' has been ringing in all men's ears for six years. Now every man who is 'worth his salt' is saying to himself, 'What am I to do now?' Are we, having girt up our loins to see the war through, now to give ourselves up to the frustration that so largely ruled the time between the two wars, or are we to cry 'Once more into the breach'? There is no doubt what answer every Christian ought to give. 'Not yet the end, not yet repose, We hear our Captain say.' 'Necessity' is laid upon him. Because he is a Christian, he is convinced that with all the planning of men there is 'one thing needful' — the preaching of the Gospel by lip and life. Nothing else will ultimately serve, however cunningly men may devise this or that. On the other hand, every Christian believes that while nothing else will do, this *will* do. In the Wesleys' birthday hymn there are the lines 'Tis worth living for this, To administer bliss, And salvation in Jesus's name'. Never was this more certain than now. Today the Christian must attack. There is no demobilization in his war.

But when Paul cried 'Necessity is laid upon me', he was thinking, not of Christians generally, but of the Christian Ministry. In the Christian army, as indeed in secular armies, there are 'diversities of gifts'. I have seen it stated that for every man in the front line in the recent war there were ten men and women 'behind the lines' or working on such things as munitions. The fighting men were just a spear-point, and no spear-point is any good without a shaft. May we say that the Christian Minister is the spear-point of the Christian attack? If so, the phrase 'necessity is laid upon me' applies peculiarly to him, for who would dare to take such a duty upon himself? If you do not know what it is to cry 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel', you have no business in the Christian

¹ An Inaugural Address given at the reopening of Richmond College.

Ministry; if you do know what this is, you have no business anywhere else.

There is a phrase 'a separated Ministry' which I don't altogether like. If the 'men at the front' and the munition-workers were altogether separated, woe betide them both! It is the same, of course, in the Christian army. The Ministry should not be cut off from the Church. If ever this happens, woe betide them both! In one way those among you who have been 'in the Services' will always have your own advantage. No one will ever be able to say that you were 'not there'. You will be able always to 'speak to the condition' of other men who were 'there'. The rest of you, too, have the advantage that you know by experience what life in these drear days has been in England. You have not been 'sheltered', as the word runs. Do not go on now to be over-separated. Is not 'specialized' a better word? In every part of life today there are specialists—whose business it is to be a class apart, yet not fundamentally apart. You are to be such specialists in the Gospel. 'You have nothing to do but to save souls', said Wesley to his preachers—yet he himself did many other things. 'This one thing I do', said St. Paul—yet he himself did many other things. The truth, of course, is that both brought the many other things that they did into rigorous subordination to the 'one thing'. You will always be tempted in one way or another to subordinate the preaching of the Gospel to other things. Here at College, for some of you at least, study will strive to obtain pre-eminence, as I myself well know. But it is secondary. It is nothing but a tool of the Gospel. In a recent book about the thirteenth century—which some have extolled as the all-but-perfect Christian century—I noted that the leaders of the Church at the time often spoke of the need for 'reform'. It was the period when the followers of St. Francis came to this land. The Saint himself was always suspicious of learning and even forbade it to his followers. But Grosseteste, the greatest Christian leader in England, persuaded the Franciscans to betake themselves to study. He was undoubtedly right—yet there was a risk that study would interfere with evangelism. The writer of the book says that from the moment that the Franciscans betook themselves to study their effectiveness began to decline. There is a risk in coming to College, but there is no progress without risk. Give yourselves *con amore* to study. No one will suspect me of not meaning that with all my heart. Yet keep it subordinate. It is only a tool and tools are never ends in themselves. When you 'go into circuit', to use your own phrase, the same insidious temptation will attack you in another way. Take it for granted that you won't be able to do everything that is well worth doing. You will need to select and to a good many things that face you with the demand 'Do me', you will need to say 'No'. In these days the duty of hard selection falls to every 'keen' man, for the state of the world has multiplied needs immensely. Be careful how you select.

For most of you 'circuit business' will be the chief competitor of the Gospel. I don't think, as I have already implied, that a Minister ought altogether to escape this, for then he would be 'separated' overmuch. But there is no doubt that too much of it often falls to the Minister and too little to the laymen. 'Circuit business' is only a tool—or, if you prefer a longer word for an elaborate tool—a machine. Be the machine's master and not its slave. You will need the grit of the grace of God if this is to be so. 'You have nothing to do but to save souls.' 'This one thing I do.'

The more you consider these things, the more you will agree that no man ought to take this Ministry upon himself. He must only take it from Christ's hands, under the pressure of the Holy Spirit. One of our distinguished Ministers once told me that when he began to feel that he was 'moved by the Holy Ghost' to seek to enter the Ministry, he unburdened his mind to his father who was himself a Minister. 'Well, my boy,' said he, 'the only thing that I can say to you is, "Don't enter the Methodist Ministry if you can possibly avoid it!"' It was a searching test, but was it not the right one?

What may a Minister expect when once he is in the Ministry? A revival? With no certainty. In Christian history there have been times when the tide of revival has come sweeping in and times when it has ebbed. Today it has ebbed. There is no 'tide table' which will tell you when it will turn — but it certainly will. This tide ebbed in the tenth century, in the fifteenth, and in the eighteenth — and ebbed farther than it has ebbed now — but it came in again, and, as I think, each time it swept higher than before. But, to turn to our Lord's own figure, 'the wind bloweth where it listeth'. God grant that your Ministry may prove a time of revival. How earnestly you and I alike pray for this! But who knoweth the ways of the Lord on this side? On some other sides, however, we do know them — not least we Ministers. Paul tells us what a number of them are in the context of the passage I have quoted from First Corinthians. He says, 'We bear all things, that we may cause no hindrance to the Gospel of Christ.' We 'bear all things' because we love all men (1 Corinthians xiii. 7). The word rendered 'hindrance' means 'interruption'. Ministers need to bear an uninterrupted burden — often a needless burden and an unreasonable one, imposed not rarely by their supposed helpers — so that there may be an uninterrupted Gospel. For do they not 'bring themselves into bondage unto all, that they may gain the more'? They are all men's willing slaves. For the slave there was no question of 'an eight-hour day', nor of anything less than all his waking life. A Minister has never done. Again, he has 'a stewardship entrusted to him' which he fulfils 'not of his own will'. You will know times when, like Jeremiah, you will be for the time being weary of the Lord's will. It has sometimes been an encouragement to me to know that this has befallen many a saint. Again, a Minister will 'become all things to all men that he may by all means save some'. Similarly, he will learn how to 'buffet his body and bring it into bondage'. What a retinue of methods there is in this one passage for the Minister of Christ! But if the Spirit masters him, he will be master of his life.

When the French and Austrians entered Rome in 1849 Garibaldi, in a famous speech, called for volunteers to follow him to 'sweat and blood and tears'. The speech has often been quoted, but few have added that before very long Garibaldi had to disperse his band. Mr. Churchill called his countrymen to the toils of war in similar terms, but the victory was incomplete. Christ calls to a far, far longer campaign than six years, for He cannot accept anything but universal and final victory. The writer of the Apocalypse prefaces his account of 'the Three Woes' with an epitome of their outcome — 'The kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever'. Nothing less either for Him or for you! Yours is a man's 'job', for it is Christ's 'job'. There has been a College dedicated to this enterprise on this spot for just over a century. Its occupation of the beloved site has been

interrupted by two wars, but not its life. I know this well by the letters that I have received during the recent war from this and that and the other 'old Richmond man' in this and that and the other part of the wide world. Today you take your place with the living and the dead of this succession. Compared with our task we are few, but we may borrow the famous words of Henry V before Agincourt — 'We few, we happy few, we band of brothers'. The New Testament word for 'happy' is 'blessed', that is, 'happy in Christ'. This is a happiness that underlies every true Minister's days of depression and dree. It is better to be Jeremiah than Nebuchadnezzar, or Paul than Augustus. 'In the world ye suffer pressure, but courage! I have overcome the world.'

C. RYDER SMITH

THE BEGINNING OF THE GOSPEL

THE beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.' In these words the earliest of our Gospels introduces itself to its readers, and passes on at once — not to any story of the Nativity, which is our conception of the Gospel's beginning, but to the ministry of John the Baptist and the Baptism of Jesus by John in the Jordan. There is a standard of evaluation here which differs from ours. Dr. W. R. Maltby has remarked in *The Significance of Jesus* how little until quite recently the importance of Jesus' Temptations has been understood in His Church. And it appears no less true that His Baptism has scarcely, as yet, been granted the importance that it possessed for Him. For it seems not improbable that when the writer of St. Mark placed the 'beginning' of the Gospel just at that point, he was writing out of a sympathy with our Lord more intimate and understanding than our own. As who should say: 'Here was the point up to which everything before it had been leading: here was the point upon which all that was intended to follow must depend.' The Gospel's beginning is here traced to the contact between two prophetic personalities. Through this *contact* the current generated throughout the whole series of prophetic events in Hebrew history was conveyed into the future history of mankind. This was the moment of fusion — this was the event that determined whether all that had gone before was to achieve its aim, and issue in the salvation of the world.

It would be foolish to ask of this event: 'If it was so important, why is its significance not more stressed in the Gospels?' The Gospels, in fact, stress nothing that they relate. They are at the farthest remove from modern journalism. There are, in the strict sense, no italics, no headlines, in the Gospels: few devices by which a lazy reader may find himself put upon his guard, or warned to stir his unwary senses to perception. The Spirit, through whom the Gospel was incarnate, and by whom the sacred Word was written, abiding in him will lead him into the truth. But that, as it happens, will be a burdgeoning of the life of faith in him, which — in the study of the Scriptures — is more likely than not to take the form of a whole series of just such illuminations. No experience is more familiar to the Christian than, in Biblical study, to light upon some long-known passage and find it suddenly large with a hitherto unsuspected significance.

The
five
sugges
is eith
carlies
produ
impor
The
and d
would
must
But w
subj
and f
to dis
quest
He di
the m
It i
seriou
ten o
Bapti
first
'Am
John
matt
For v
one t
From
answ
one t
had
up'.
quar
comp
had
mom
and
Jesus
Bapt
out?
That
for o
more
can,
more
A
Isra
3

The longest account of the Baptism is that given us in St. Matthew iii. 13-17 — five verses of Scripture. If the event had the importance which we now suggest, this was economy indeed! Yet, it is to be remarked that the Baptism is either recorded or referred to by each one of our four Gospels; and by the earliest of the four it is described as the Gospel's 'beginning'. We shall seek to produce, in this study, evidence that Jesus held the same estimate of the importance and significance of this event.

The question, whether Jesus ever discussed His Baptism with His friends and disciples, is one to which we are unable to give a categorical answer. It would appear certain that such details of the event as are known to us must have come originally either from Jesus, or from John, or from them both. But we have no evidence of any occasion on which His Baptism was ever a subject of discussion between Jesus and the closer circle of His acquaintances and friends. The question is then legitimate — By what means are we able to discover the value He set upon that event? And for the answer to that question we have to turn, first, to the passage in St. Matthew xi. 7-19, in which He discusses the Baptist. It will be seen that, by reference or by implication, the matter of His Baptism is thereby brought under review.

It is, for instance, to say the least, a little disturbing to us to read, and read seriously, His eulogy of John. There are not many of us, asked to enumerate ten of the greatest names in pre-Gospel history, who would include John the Baptist in that number. The likelihood is that we should omit him from the first twenty or fifty, no less. Yet we listen to Jesus, and what do we hear? 'Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist.' If we care to recollect how sparing the Master was in the matter of human praise, this will give us the more to pause in this instance. For we learn that whether we name twenty or fifty or ten, we shall not name one to whom Jesus would have given the pre-eminence over this neglected man. From what view-point, then, did Jesus venture upon His judgement? The answer to that question is a revealing one. For we do not find Him speak as one man standing over against another, and coolly calculating his worth. He had never looked at the Baptist, or listened to him, in the attempt to 'sum him up'. Rather, He and the Baptist had walked together through the most critical quarter of an hour in history up to that time; and the Baptist had proved a fit companion for the Son of God. Deep, there, had called unto deep; and deep had answered. The incarnate Son, in submission to the Spirit of God, at this moment placed the responsibility for deciding His own vocation upon John; and John responded with the Word from on high. This it was which moved Jesus, in the public challenge recorded in St. Matthew xi. 7-19, to describe the Baptist as doubly clothed upon with glory and honour. 'Wherefore went ye out? To see a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet.' That he had been a prophet had, up to that time, been found honour enough for one man — but John, on the public testimony of Jesus, was this and 'much more'. Let us examine his credentials as a prophet first, and then seek, if we can, to discover what Jesus might have meant when He described him as much more even than this.

A prophet's foundation activity was in the realm of *vision*. 'Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he said, Come and let us go

to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer (1 Samuel ix. 9). The prophet's visionary gift was sometimes sought to be put to prosaic use by his contemporaries, as when young Saul went to inquire of Samuel after his father's asses. But within the scope of his true vocation, the visionary gift was of a different order from that. 'I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple' (Isaiah vi. 1). And as it transpired, there were made plain to the prophet facts of two categories, normally concealed from other folk. On the one hand, he was made privy to God's judgement upon the life around him; and on the other, he was given to see beforehand the shape and colour of events yet hidden in the womb of time. It was normally within these limits, sufficiently elastic, that his visionary gifts were employed.

Arising, then, out of this gift of sight, there followed a responsibility. What the prophet had *seen*, it was laid upon him to *say*. He was seer first, in order that he might be sayer afterwards. And his saying was to answer to his sight. His utterance, that is to say, like his vision, was after one of two orders. On the one hand, he *spoke-forth* the judgement of God; as when Nathan, taking his life in his hand, spoke forth to David God's judgement upon the king's crime in the matter of Uriah (2 Samuel xii. 1-17). On the other hand, he *spoke-beforehand* of events yet to be enacted in the life of the world; as when Joel foretold the bestowal of the Spirit of God upon all flesh (Joel ii. 28-32).

It is interesting to record that all the prophets, according to this definition, were Hebrews, and that all that is recorded for us of their activity is garnered in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Prophecy, in the strict and Biblical sense of the word, was a vocation vouchsafed only to a Hebrew. This activity of prophesying is, *par excellence*, the Hebrew *differentia* in the world. How great a dignity, how incomparable a distinction it was, its nature sufficiently declares. For these men were made privy, and these men alone, to so many of the judgements and intentions of God. If John the Baptist is to be numbered among these, there is room enough, on that ground alone, for his being reckoned one of the greatest of men. What is to be discovered regarding his credentials in this vocation?

How slender our information is on this point! Let us examine the four Gospels in turn. In St. Mark i. there are seven verses devoted to the Baptist: two of these are a quotation from the Old Testament, three are simply descriptive, and only the remaining two are in any sense an account of his prophesying. St. Matthew iii. devotes eleven verses exclusively to John: of these, four are descriptive, one is a quotation, and six record his 'sayings'. In St. Luke iii. there are seventeen verses occupied with John's ministry in the wilderness: of these, three are quotation, six are historical, and eight are devoted to his utterance. It is not uninteresting to observe that what material St. Luke adds to that given us by the other Synoptists is quite unimportant for the purpose of this inquiry. The six verses in St. Matthew iii. comprise, in fact, all that is left to us of the public ministry of this man. What other man, of any sort of significance in the world's history, has been so economically recorded as this? The testimony in St. John i. 19-28 is interesting as an instance of this evangelist's habit of *expounding* to some degree the records of the earlier evangelists. For these verses, in fact, add nothing to our knowledge, either of the Baptist or of

his public ministry. We may confine our attention to St. Matthew's record, with full confidence that it tells us as much as we are likely to know. Indeed, it tells us all that we need to know. Had we no other record than this, the Baptist would be displayed to us, for all his austerity, as sufficiently clothed upon with the mantle of prophecy.

One part of John's utterances, here recorded, is of the nature of that 'forth-speaking' of the divine judgement, which is an essential element of the prophetic vocation. 'When he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, he said unto them, Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance; and think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.' If we pause and recall who and what, in that Judean community, these Pharisees and Sadducees were, we shall appreciate better the force of the judgement expressed in these words. For these were those, so often described in St. John's Gospel as 'the rulers of the Jews': men consciously and acknowledged the arbiters of spiritual judgement in Jerusalem: men by whose edict other men were admitted into or thrust out of the family of God. It was to these, the shepherds of the sheep, that the Baptist spoke in so many words the judgement of God. How tragically we mistake both his and their position, when we suppose him to have been giving voice merely to an opinion or a judgement of his own! As though he had observed them and found them less than he desired! No! but it had been given to him to see them as God saw them, and to know that he saw them so — as trees marked by the axe for destruction; as serpents scurrying through the scrub from a flame hot and fast upon their track! These words are prophecy in one of its historic manifestations — that speaking-forth of something perceived as the judgement of God upon contemporary history. There was no later appeal, on the part of that doomed society, from the judgement uttered upon it by the Voice in the wilderness.

The other part of the Baptist's utterance, as recorded here, is of the nature of 'telling-beforehand' something that is to happen in the future. 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: and he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire: whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing-floor; and he will gather his wheat into the garner, but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.' The gaze here, the ardent gaze, is not around and about, but forward. Something of which his hearers have not the slightest premonition is already vivid and passionate before the prophet's eyes. All his urgency spells 'Look!' He would turn their eyes from himself to One coming swiftly after. For the essence of the moment is, that they should discern Him when He comes. How abysmally we mistake the Baptist if here, again, we suppose him to have been saying something, merely, that he 'thought'. He is the foreseeing, breaking out into language with what he can foresee; the visionary burdened with a word. He speaks, in sober fact, not at all as a man but as the mouthpiece of God.

So clear it is, that when Jesus said of John that he was a prophet, he was not

speaking in anything like panegyric. He was recording a prosaic, or if we prefer it, a divine fact. Here was one of that order of elect men, all Hebrews, admitted to so much of the counsels of the Most High — of God's judgement upon their own generation, of God's intended action in the future, remote or near. Little though we are told of all that he said and did, we are told enough to make it plain that the flame of this man's spirit burnt in communion with God and in communication toward man. In the full sense of the word, on both sides of that great vocation, the Baptist was a prophet — but what might Jesus have intended when, having said so much, He said also that there was more to John even than that?

We are confronted here with a fact which has been too little remarked in all that has been written about the Baptist. What it amounts to, briefly, is this: that the Baptist, beside being a prophet, was himself a *subject of prophecy*. In the most vital sense all prophecy was directed toward, and concentrated upon, the Messiah. All was to be fulfilled in Him. Thus it is that Professor C. H. Dodd, in *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (p. 18, 1936 edition) is able to say: 'Whatever events the Old Testament prophets may indicate as impending, these events are for them significant as elements in the coming "Day of the Lord". . . . The death and resurrection of Christ are the crucial fulfilment of prophecy.' Hence it was that Jesus, on the road to Emmaus, 'beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, interpreted in all the scriptures the things concerning himself' (Luke xxiv. 27). Hence also, He is reported as saying of the Scriptures in general: 'these are they which bear witness of me' (John v. 39). He was, indeed, **THE GRAND SUBJECT OF PROPHECY**; and it was not merely that His advent, His healing and preaching ministry, His death and resurrection, were foretold with a precision and particularity which were intended to make His identification, when He should come, beyond question to enlightened readers of the prophets. It was rather, that all the hopes and fears, the promises and possibilities, that were associated in prophecy with the 'Day of the Lord', that great climacteric of history, were associated no less with the hope and promise of His coming. Apart from Him was the fulfilment of no prophecy conceived as possible; and in Him, no less, the failure of any part of the Word of God was inconceivable. The whole constellation of the prophets was gathered, like an aureole, about His sacred head. Yet we are to notice that toward the very end of the great line of Old Testament prophets, the coming of the Promised One was conjoined with the promise of a Companion — a Forerunner, rather; as though to make Messiah's identification doubly, trebly sure. 'Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple; and the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in, behold, he cometh, saith the LORD of hosts' (Malachi iii. 1); and again: 'Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the LORD come' (Malachi iv. 5).

Now the Baptist is recorded in St. John i. 21 as denying that he was this 'Elijah'. 'And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he saith, I am not.' But Jesus is reported in St. Matthew xi. as bearing a contrary testimony: 'For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And if ye are willing to receive it, this is Elijah which is to come'; and there follows that solemn asseveration, providing an exception to that general absence of particu-

particular emphasis to which we have alluded in the Gospels, by which He sometimes underlined grave utterances: 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' There can be no doubt, surely, that in such a matter, between Jesus and John, we must accept the testimony of our Lord. The Baptist was 'Elijah'. But this is to invest him with an importance, to endow him with a quality of glory shared by no other amongst the prophets. A little of the garment that clothed Messiah fell upon him. He not only foretold, but he *was foretold*. As ushering in the great Age of Fulfilment, he had been named before his advent, in conjunction with Messiah Himself. Alongside the GREAT SUBJECT of prophecy, he stood a lesser subject — and in so far as a subject of prophecy must transcend both prophecy and prophets, he transcends them both, and wears, albeit with a gesture of deprecation, the crown with which Jesus crowned him. So that, on this ground if on no other, it is possible and necessary to celebrate him as 'more than a prophet'.

But there is a deeper, a more intimate and revealing sense in which we may interpret these words. This depends upon a study of John's relationship to Jesus, as that is revealed to us in St. Matthew iii. 13-17, the story of our Saviour's Baptism. In order that this may be possible, some brief review is necessary of their more general relationship before that occasion. Some congenital relationship between Jesus and John is established by St. Luke i. 36, where the angel Gabriel speaks to Mary at the time of the Annunciation of her 'kinswoman' Elizabeth, already pregnant with John. What the degree of consanguinity between these two women was, it is impossible — and indeed unnecessary — now to determine. It does need to be said, however, that the family relationship appears to have done nothing to throw the two boys together in all the years of their youth and early manhood. The whole of Jesus' childhood and youth and early maturity were spent in Galilee; the Baptist lived 'in the deserts until the day of his showing unto Israel' (St. Luke i. 80). The one in the north, the other in the south, one in populous Galilee, the other in the unpeopled wastes of the Judean wilderness. These are the facts that lie behind the denial, reiterated, in St. John i. 29-34, on the part of John concerning Jesus: 'I knew him not . . . I knew him not.' How much Jesus knew about John, we cannot tell, though it appears more than likely that He would be familiar with the fact of their relationship. However, it is as certain as disinterested testimony can make it, that when the eyes of the Baptist fell upon Jesus, they fell upon a stranger. Whatever, to John, distinguished Jesus, standing there amid the multitude, borrowed nothing from any earlier acquaintance. These two, whose destined paths crossed that day, upon whose intercourse the salvation of the world depended, met there for the first time. The most important individual of the Age that was about to close, found himself sequestered for a little while with that One in whom were incarnate all the powers and possibilities of the Age to come — and from his words and conduct, it is patent to us that *he knew it*.

How can we describe that instant? How, without despoiling it, enter the silence in which it is shrouded? The wide world was ignorant of it; even the elect Jewish world looked unapprehendingly on. Yet we cannot doubt that Eternity pondered. All the prophets and the law had prophesied until THIS. This was the moment which the angels, though unavailing, had desired to look into (1 Peter i. 10-12). It has been said of John, that he found himself here in

the presence of 'the only good man who ever lived'. Yet who would care to suggest that that could exhaust the significance of this moment, whether for John or for ourselves? What it did mean to him, his own words expressed, and to his words we will go in order that we may receive his testimony.

It might seem, at first, as though he was aware of nothing more than a sense of moral reluctance. 'I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?' As though he were saying: 'You are better than I.' That perception, if that had been all that it was, would have distinguished him there; for there is no indication that anyone else shared even so much with him. Alone and unmarked Jesus came, one of the multitude. Not one of the lovely Gospel words had been uttered; none of the lovely Gospel deeds had been done — but even so, in this deep sense not concerned with consanguinity, John 'knew' Him. If He 'knew' Him only as good, it had marked the Baptist out as a man of heavenly perception. But there was more — very much more — to it than that.

To the multitude he had already said: 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me . . . shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' John, that is to say, apprehended two baptisms — his own, and Another's: His, with water; that Other's, with the Spirit of God; and deeply he knew his need of that Other's baptism. So that we must understand, when he stood with Jesus in the water and said to Him: 'I have need to be baptized of thee' — that he was saying to Jesus: 'I have need of your baptism, not you of mine.' He saw in Jesus the One whom he had foretold, whom all the prophets and the law had prophesied. He said to Jesus, in words that are the very perfection of allusiveness — in a phrase whose delicacy and precision are all the more adorable because it was indirect — 'You are Messiah; it is upon you that all the words of prophecy are coming to rest.' We must not hear these words as though they had been spoken merely out of a man's perception. The highest dignity possible to a man is that he should be made an instrument of the will of God. If any words, from the foundation of the world, were spoken in the Spirit of God, these words were. To meet this moment, and to utter these words, he had been born. 'I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, for this cause came I baptizing with water' (St. John i. 31). The full sense of that, the sequel of this study may do something to show. But let us here declare that it is here, if anywhere, that we must find the 'beginning' of the Gospel. From the moment of their utterance, all that the law and prophets had foretold began to be fulfilled. It is as though, to use a mechanical and therefore clumsy parallel, and yet one which may serve to mediate a little insight to us in this instance — it is as though all the machinery of the world's salvation had been in process of construction up to that moment. Then the instant had come in which all, being ready, was to be thrown into motion and the long-premeditated labour to proceed; and the instrument by which that movement was precipitated was this Word of the Baptist, cast into the heart of the Saviour. He was in that instant God's instrument, bearing the testimony that he was there to bear. His Word was the vital Word that was to convey all the accumulated power and glory of the prophetic intention across the abyss of time, and by a flash, as it were, to illuminate the future. Prophet he was, and a subject of prophecy. But a greater distinction than that was his. He was the one to whom it was given to say or to withhold

the Word by which all the words of the prophets were to be implemented, and enter upon the era of their fulfilment.

Of the Saviour, we must understand that He had come to the Jordan in order to hear this Word. As, through His boyhood and youth in Nazareth the conviction took root and grew in His heart, that he was Messiah, the question arose: 'How, and when, should He begin His labours?' The fields, to His painful observation, were white unto harvest: how long must He withhold His hand? It seems as though He found His answer in the prophecies we have already quoted from Malachi. He must wait until the 'messenger' appear, until 'Elijah' had come. When enough had transpired under John beside the Jordan to leave Him in no doubt that it was in the Baptist that these prophecies were fulfilled, He came 'from Galilee to the Jordan unto John, to be baptized of Him'. What He came for was not, in the deepest sense, John's baptism. *But there was a chrism awaiting Him there.* He came to await the prophet's Word. He came that He might have His own conviction authenticated and confirmed. All was ready, in the world and in His own heart. The work of the world's salvation lay ahead, awaiting achievement. But nothing was to be done merely upon impulse; nothing was to be undertaken merely upon the ground of His own individual insight or assurance. All was ready, but all must await God's Word. All must await the Word of God's messenger. So He came, and put it to this issue. As He bowed His head, that meek, meek head, beside the Baptist there, the Word was spoken and the last occasion for restraint was left behind. He turned His feet to tread to the end His predestined path of abasement and glory — and so, at long last, *began* 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God'.

REGINALD GLANVILLE

IN THE UPPER ROOM

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE LAST SUPPER

THE thesis begun in the essays 'In the Wilderness'¹ and 'To the Mount',² which this third study is intended to complete and conclude, has suggested a continuity in the experience, thought, and activity of Jesus, whose roots lie deep in the history of the people of Israel as recorded in the Old Testament. It remains to seek its culmination.

We began at the origin of the public ministry of Jesus by attempting to understand the meaning which the temptations had for one become fully conscious at the Baptism that He was the Chosen of God. The clue to this meaning was found in the clear references to the story of God's dealings with His Chosen People, particularly through Moses and Elijah. The roots of the three temptations are the ancient problems of need, of death, and consequently of faithfulness: how shall the Chosen of God lack bread, or worse, be subject to catastrophe, and if these things must be, how shall there still be loyalty? We found these three strands running on through the ministry of Jesus, always with the Old Testament reference, until they are made plain to the disciples at Cæsarea Philippi, and Jesus begins to instruct them in the answer which He was to give. The story of the Transfiguration, it was argued, is the story of how at least one disciple

¹ *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July 1945.

² *ibid.*, October 1945.

learned to accept if not to understand Jesus' resolve as true to God's ancient revelation. We must now try to follow these same strands to their end, and to see how the answer of Jesus meets them all.

'If thou art the Son of God', said the Devil, 'command that these stones become bread.'¹ We found the background of this temptation in the story of Israel in the wilderness, when the people were hungry and God gave them bread from heaven to eat. Why cannot the Chosen of God command at all times the same miraculous provision? Jesus rejects the demand, quoting the Deuteronomistic judgement that 'Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord'.² When in the course of His ministry those who are listening to His word are hungry, He does provide bread by miraculous means,³ only for it to be made plain that men are still much more impressed by the material gift than by its spiritual purpose. 'Ye seek me,' He said afterwards to the crowds, 'not because ye saw signs, but because ye ate of the loaves, and were filled'.⁴ Jesus is insistent that man's primary need is not material bread, however necessary this may be, but the spiritual food which is given to him only by his heavenly Father.

This insistence is so clear that it must be borne in mind in the interpretation of any of the sayings in which Jesus refers to bread. He is not indifferent to physical need, for God is not, but man's danger is to be entirely preoccupied with this. 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness.'⁵ When Jesus speaks, as He does for instance in the parables of growth, of the processes by which man is provided with his material needs, it is to stress the reliability of God's material provision as a ground for reliance upon His spiritual provision, and for obedience to His will. When He speaks of the human father who meets the material needs of his children, it is to insist that God will likewise give 'good gifts' (in Luke it is 'the Holy Spirit') 'to them that ask him'.⁶

The only saying over which there is any controversy about this is in the Lord's Prayer. The great majority of commentators interpret 'Give us this day our daily bread' as a reference to material food, in the face not only of the insistence of Jesus which we have been considering, but also of the whole of the rest of the Lord's Prayer. The hallowing of the Father's name, the coming of His rule, the doing of His will, the forgiveness of sins and deliverance from temptation, all are spiritual concerns, which inform and change the things of the material life no doubt, but are not bounded by it. Why should one petition be restricted to the material?

The difficulty even of the common translation 'our daily bread' is well known. The Greek adjective *ἡμετέριον* is of doubtful meaning, and its most probable interpretation is 'for the coming day'. This makes the general application of the passage all the more difficult. When Professor Manson, for example, says 'This reflects the social environment of the Gospels. The bread issued today is for consumption tomorrow, so that everyone has his food in his house overnight,' it is hard not to feel that he has forgotten the other word of Jesus, 'Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself'.⁷ There

¹ Matthew iv. 3. ² Deuteronomy viii. 3, Matthew iv. 4. ³ Mark vi. 32-42. ⁴ John vi. 26.

⁵ Matthew vi. 32, 33. ⁶ Matthew vii. 7-11, Luke xi. 9-13. ⁷ Matthew vi. 11; cf.

Luke xi. 3: 'Give us day by day our daily bread'. ⁸ *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, p. 461.

⁹ Matthew vi. 34.

seems every reason to interpret the phrase in an eschatological sense — 'Bread of the Coming Day' — so that it refers to the spiritual food by which man shall live during 'this present evil age'¹ against the coming of the Day of the Lord.² The choice of this particular metaphor may be directly ascribed to the form of the first temptation, and so to the line of derivation whose beginnings are in Exodus.

When we go on to ask what Jesus Himself made of the metaphor, we find an explicit answer in the Fourth Gospel, in the exposition which follows the miracle of the loaves. This must be quoted at length, because it not only makes the direct link with the past for which we have argued, but also points on to the culmination we are seeking.

'They said therefore unto him, What then doest thou for a sign, that we may see, and believe thee? what workest thou? Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written, he gave them bread out of heaven to eat. Jesus therefore said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, it was not Moses that gave you the bread out of heaven; by my Father giveth you the true bread out of heaven. For the bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven, and giveth life to the world. They said therefore unto him, Lord, evermore give us this bread. Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. . . . I am the bread of life. Your fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: yea and the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world.'³

This great discourse, which directs us to the closing acts of the life of Jesus, is not robbed of any of its value by the doubts which have been felt concerning its authenticity. Perhaps it was largely composed in the light of later events. The next verses certainly could not be fully comprehensible until the Last Supper had taken place.

'Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father; so he that eateth me, he also shall live because of me. This is the bread which came down out of heaven; not as the fathers did eat, and died: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.'⁴

What matters for our purpose is the continuity, plainly discernible to the Fourth Evangelist, between the feeding of the multitude and the Last Supper. The link is the metaphor of bread.

The Last Supper is the culmination in the thought and teaching of Jesus of the first theme of the temptations. The background of the Supper has been partly obscured by the Synoptic (Marcan?) associations of the meal with the Passover meal, which the Fourth Gospel rejects. The propinquity of Passover and Passion are capable of other interpretations, no doubt valuable in themselves,

¹ Galatians i. 4.

² cf. Gerald Heard, *The Creed of Christ*.

³ John vi. 30-5, 48-51.

⁴ John vi. 53-8.

which are explicit elsewhere:¹ but the Last Supper takes no account of the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb, nor does this figure in the meal. The symbols here are bread and wine.

There are two somewhat cryptic pieces of narrative in the Synoptics which suggest that Jesus' last visit to Jerusalem was not only deliberate (there is much evidence for this) but also prepared for. One, to which we shall return later, is the story of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem: the second is the story of the Upper Room.

'And he sendeth two of his disciples, and saith unto them, Go into the city, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: follow him; and whosoever he shall enter in, say unto the goodman of the house, The Master saith, Where is my guest-chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with my disciples? And he will himself shew you a large upper chamber furnished and ready: and there make ready for us.'²

The manner in which the arrangement had been made is not known to us, but it is of importance that the passage is so reminiscent of the Old Testament. So Elijah was sent to the brook Cherith, and later to Zarephath, where he would find provision made for him:³ while the 'upper room furnished and ready' is like the 'little chamber on the wall' (or 'with walls') with bed and table, stool and candlestick, which the great woman of Shunem held ready for Elisha.⁴ Jesus is in the prophetic tradition here as everywhere.

'And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body.'⁵

Paul's version adds a little more.

'The Lord Jesus, in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me.'⁶

There is an exact parallel with His procedure at the feeding of the five thousand, where also He 'blessed, and brake the loaves: and he gave to the disciples'.⁷ The addition at the Supper is in the words 'This is my body'. These have been variously expounded: but the best commentary is still that of the Fourth Gospel, in the discourse which we have already quoted. 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man . . . ye have not life in yourselves. . . . This is the bread which came down out of heaven.'⁸ If we remember John's great saying, 'The Word became flesh',⁹ we can complete our interpretation of the answer to the first temptation. The bread which Jesus gives is His body: the body is the flesh in which the Word is incarnate: 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God.'

There is here as yet no direct reference to the death of Jesus. In view of the almost unanimous acceptance by the Church of the sacrificial interpretation of this symbol, the New Testament evidence as to the earliest understanding of the bread is quite extraordinarily interesting. Acts ii. 42 tells how the disciples 'continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers'; verse 46 speaks of 'breaking bread at home'. Acts xx, 7

¹ cf. 1 Corinthians v. 7.

² Mark xiv. 13-15.

³ 1 Kings xvii. 3, 9.

⁴ 2 Kings iv. 10. The Greek ἀνάκτορον = the Hebrew עֲלֵי־יָדַי.

⁵ Mark xiv. 22 = Matthew xxvi. 26, Luke xxii. 19a.

⁶ 1 Corinthians xi. 23, 24.

⁷ Mark vi. 41.

⁸ John vi. 53, 58.

⁹ John i. 14.

has the words 'when we were gathered together to break bread', continued in verse 11, 'when he was gone up, and had broken the bread, and eaten, and had talked with them a long while'. Of Paul in shipwreck it is recorded, 'When he had said this, and had taken bread, he gave thanks to God in the presence of all: and he brake it, and began to eat'¹ — this not in fear of death, but in certainty of deliverance. As Dr. Flew says of the passages in Acts ii: 'Nothing is said about a cup, or about any connexion between this special meal and the death of Christ.'²

Dr. Flew goes on to say: 'In the earliest Eucharistic prayers, preserved in the *Didache*, the death of our Lord is not even mentioned.' The thanksgiving for the bread in the *Didache* runs as follows:

'We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and the knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus, thy servant. Glory be to thee for ever! As this broken bread scattered upon the hills and gathered together became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.'³

Here the bread has become a symbol of Christian unity in the Church. This is found also in Paul:

'The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? Seeing that we, who are many, are one bread, one body: for we all partake of the one bread.'⁴

It is the Church now which is the Body of Christ, the community of the Word made flesh.

Whether or not this is a legitimate extension of Jesus' teaching is another question; its value for our purpose is that it bears testimony to the line of development we have been following. When Paul links the Eucharistic bread directly with the death of Jesus, as he does in 1 Corinthians xi. 26-7:

'For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death until He come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord,' it may be true, as Dr. Flew says in the passage already quoted, that 'probably he is recalling the Corinthians to the original significance of the rite, which they had forgotten'. It seems more likely that he was expanding its original significance, perhaps under the influence of the sacrificial associations of the Passover, in order to heighten their reverence for it. Certainly at the beginning of his Eucharistic teaching in 1 Corinthians x, he speaks of 'spiritual meat' (verse 3) in a way which shows that he was conscious of a line of descent from Israel's wilderness experience.

It is Jesus Himself, the Incarnate Word, who is the Bread of Life: this, says Paul, is 'for you',⁵ and John, as we have seen, goes farther, 'for the life of the world'.⁶ We have not yet moved beyond our first strand of thought, the ancient problem of human need. Jesus' answer is Himself. The doctrine to be developed here would seem to be that of the Incarnation rather than of the Atonement.

Nevertheless we shall not quarrel with Dr. Flew when he says:

¹ Acts xxvii. 35.

⁴ 1 Corinthians x. 16, 17.

² *Jesus and His Church*, p. 153.

⁵ 1 Corinthians xi. 24.

³ *Didache* ix. 3-4.

⁶ John vi. 51.

'In partaking of the bread the early Christians shared in the benefits of His self-giving, and the thought of His death could never have been far away.'¹

We found the problem of death in the second temptation; not merely natural death, which is not a problem but a fact, but the catastrophic death of the Chosen, which seems to deny God's choice.

'If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and on their hands they shall bear thee up, lest haply thou dash thy foot against a stone.'²

Jesus again rejected the temptation to put God to this test. 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God' was the Deuteronomic judgement on Israel's demand at Massah.³ When the danger of death faced Jesus later in the menace of Herod, who had beheaded John the Baptist, He withdrew Himself from it for a time, but only to consider and to prepare His disciples to receive His answer to this apparently final disaster: and at Caesarea Philippi He taught them that 'the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed'.⁴

The Synoptic Gospels insist that Jesus went up to Jerusalem knowing that He was to die there.⁵ Luke has some passages of especial interest. In the story of the Transfiguration Moses and Elijah 'spake of His decease' (more literally 'of His Exodus' — a pregnant phrase) 'which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem'.⁶ 'When the days were well-nigh come that he should be received up, he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem.'⁷ In answer to the Pharisees' warning of Herod's enmity, He says 'I must go on my way . . . for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem'.⁸ This last saying in particular sets the matter against an historical background: the prophets, in whose succession Jesus stands, were the Chosen of God in a special sense, and He is not the first of them to perish. Jesus puts it clearly in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen,⁹ and finds it foretold in Scripture.¹⁰ From this it is but a step to the thought that God has a purpose which is only to be fulfilled in this way.

When we ask whether Jesus Himself made this step, as before, we find metaphor. The earliest passage which offers a clear indication is that in which Jesus answers the request of the sons of Zebedee that they shall sit with Him in His glory.

'Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?'¹¹ The metaphor of baptism is found again in this sense in Luke xii. 50: 'I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!' Its connexion with the thought of death is obscure: perhaps it is to be interpreted in the light of Psalm xlii. 7, 'All Thy waves and Thy billows are gone over me', and Psalm lxix. 2, 14-15, 'I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me'. In both Psalms the ruling thought is the reproach which disaster brings upon the man who has trusted in God. The further metaphor of fire to be kindled, which is linked with the metaphor of baptism in Luke xii. 49, is perhaps to be understood from Jeremiah xx. 9 — the burning Word which cannot be restrained by any human reluctance. The metaphor of the cup to be drunk,

¹ op. cit., p. 154.

² Matthew iv. 6.

³ Matthew iv. 7, Deuteronomy vi. 16.

⁴ Mark viii. 31 and parallels.

⁵ Mark ix. 31, x. 33-34, and parallels.

⁶ Luke ix. 31.

⁷ Luke ix. 51.

⁸ Luke xiii. 33.

⁹ Mark xii. 1-11.

¹⁰ Luke xi. 49-51, Matthew xxiii. 34-6; cf. Luke xviii. 31.

¹¹ Mark x. 38.

however, is of great importance, for it introduces a line of thought which leads unmistakably to the Last Supper.

Let us return to the accounts of the Supper.

'And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.'¹ Matthew adds the command 'Drink ye all of it', and the words 'Unto remission of sins'.² Luke, before mentioning the bread says:

'And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.'³ Luke is apparently drawing on an independent tradition, and the difference in order may be a hint that the bread and the cup were not originally so closely linked as Mark seems to suggest. This supposition is strengthened by the time note in Paul's account: 'In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.'⁴

There is in fact a double symbolism in these passages. The cup, as Dr. Ryder Smith has reminded us, 'was an old symbol of a lot ordained by God. In the Old Testament the phrase is commonest in the Prophets, and with them, since their message was usually one of doom, it is "a cup of vengeance", but this was not the only use of the term. A psalmist, for instance, could speak of "the cup of salvation" (Psalm cxvi. 13). Jesus used the phrase again in the Garden, asking His Father, "Remove this cup from me". According to John, He used it also on His arrest (John xviii. 11). It denotes that He knew that it was the Father's will that He should die and that at all costs He would do His Father's will'.⁵ The last sentence here is undoubtedly true: but it is important to realize that we only know it to be true because of the particular associations which Jesus gave to the cup; in the earlier passages of the Gospels His coming death, and here His blood.

This is expressed in the Supper by the symbol of wine. The attempts which have been made to link this directly with the Passover have been somewhat precarious. Paul's 'cup of blessing'⁶ is certainly a borrowing from 'the most sacred of the cups handed round at the Paschal meal',⁷ but this was itself a later accessory to the feast.⁸ Again Paul's language earlier in the same chapter, when he speaks of a 'spiritual drink' drawn from a 'spiritual rock' which 'was Christ',⁹ is far clearer evidence for the line of descent from Israel in the wilderness for which we have been arguing. We shall do best, however, to examine Jesus' own hints at His meaning.

We have already considered one of the two pieces of narrative which suggest that Jesus had made preparation for His last visit to Jerusalem. The other is the Synoptic story of the triumphal entry. The background of the story is clearest in Matthew. 'And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and came unto Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, then Jesus sent two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village that is over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass

¹ Mark xiv. 23-5.

² Matthew xxvi. 28.

³ Luke xxii. 17-18.

⁴ 1 Corinthians xi. 25.

⁵ *The Bible Doctrine of Salvation*, p. 187.

⁶ 1 Corinthians x. 16.

⁷ Plummer, 'The Lord's Supper' in *H.D.B.*, Vol. III, p. 144b.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 145b.

⁹ 1 Corinthians x. 4.

ted, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any one say aught unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them. Now this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Zion, behold, thy king cometh unto thee, meek, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass.¹ In his mention of the two animals Matthew has misunderstood the parallelism of the prophetic passage which he quotes. This is from Zechariah ix. 9 (which contains the further line 'He is just, and having salvation'), and its promise of a peace-bringing Messiah is clear enough. What has not been sufficiently realized is that the Zechariah passage is itself a reminiscence of the words of Jacob's Blessing upon Judah: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he hath washed his garments in wine, and his vesture in the blood of grapes: his eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.'² The mention of Shiloh is obscure, and should probably be emended 'Until he that is his shall come'.³ The passage is then another Messianic prophecy, and we may take special notice of its reference to wine, used here with milk as a symbol of the plenty associated with the coming of the Messiah.

The same tokens of plenty are used by Deutero-Isaiah in the most highly spiritualized presentation which the Old Testament offers of the eschatological hope.⁴ The opening verses of the fifty-fifth chapter present forcibly the kind of answer to human need for which we have argued, and, it may be suggested, with much the same background. We may note in passing that here we are very close to the Suffering Servant songs, and that the passage contains the promise, taken up by Jesus at the Supper, of 'an everlasting covenant';⁵ to both of these points we shall return. The association of wine with the Messianic hope is what matters for the moment, an association clearly in the mind of Jesus when He says 'I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God'.

Wine, however, has a further association in the prophets. In Jeremiah xxv. 15 we find: 'Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, unto me: Take the cup of the wine of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it.' Here the metaphor, echoed in Revelation xiv. 10, is of God's punishment of the wicked, an idea correlative with that of His deliverance of His Chosen. In Trito-Isaiah the symbolism is even more direct. 'Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? . . . Wherefore art Thou red in Thine apparel, and Thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat? I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the peoples there was no man with me: yea, I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in my fury; and their life-blood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my raiment.'⁶ Here wine is a simile of blood, the life-blood of the sinful nations, whom God has destroyed singlehanded in His redemption of His people. So also in Isaiah xlix. 26: 'And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and

¹ Matthew xxi. 1-5.² Genesis xlix. 10-12.³ Driver, *Genesis*, p. 386.⁴ Isaiah lv. 1.⁵ Isaiah lv. 3.⁶ Isaiah lxiii. 1-3.⁷ The blood is the life: cf. Genesis ix. 4, Leviticus xvii. 10.

all flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy saviour and thy redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.'

That this association was also in the mind of Jesus is clear from His equation of wine with blood: but there is a radical difference in His use of the symbol. 'This is my blood', He says; no longer the blood of the wicked, but the blood of the Messiah. It is impossible not to find the explanation of this violent departure from the application made in the Old Testament in the problem which Jesus, as we have seen, was facing. The general Old Testament doctrine of reward and punishment was too naïve for the facts, and its transference into the eschatological realm did not remove its essential *naïveté*. Neither the future bliss of the righteous nor all the blood of the wicked could fully answer the question why the Chosen of God must endure suffering and death now. Jesus has taken the further step of accepting death as the means by which the saving purpose of God shall be fulfilled.

'He shall give His angels charge concerning thee, and on their hands they shall bear thee up', quoted the Devil as he tempted Jesus to claim deliverance from death. When in Gethsemane the disciples, still unwilling to accept their Master's way with this temptation, would have resisted those who came to arrest Him, He said: 'Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels? How then should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?'¹

The third and last temptation was, as we have seen, the consequence of the rejection of the other two. The Devil 'sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; and he said unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me'.² If the Chosen of God is to lack bread, is not to be delivered even in extremity, why should he worship God at all? Why not worship the power in whose gift lie 'all the kingdoms of the world'? The problem arose again during the ministry of Jesus as soon as danger raised its head, and particularly after the failure of the miraculous feeding: we have argued that His retirement into 'the borders of Tyre and Sidon'³ and the subsequent journeyings outside the territory of Herod were spent in finding an answer to this temptation.

The answer which Jesus began at Cæsarea Philippi to teach the disciples was that suffering and death were in fact the way by which 'the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory' should come. 'The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected . . . and be killed, and after three days rise again. . . . If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it. . . . For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. . . . There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power.'⁴ Both elements in the Devil's suggestion are here countered: the claim that the kingdoms of the world are in his gift by the insistence which

¹ Matthew xxvi. 53-4.

² Matthew iv. 8, 9.

³ Mark vii. 24.

⁴ Mark viii. 31, 34f., 38, ix. 1.

runs through the whole ministry, that 'the kingdom of God is at hand',¹ and the promise of all their glory in return for worship by the promise of a greater glory to be revealed through suffering and death.

These themes are reiterated during the closing weeks of the ministry. When the rich man came to Jesus seeking eternal life and went away sorrowful, Jesus said 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! . . . Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee. Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for my sake, and for the Gospel's sake, but he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time . . . with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life.'² When the sons of Zebedee ask 'that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and one on thy left hand, in thy glory', Jesus answers with the words already quoted about the cup and the baptism, and teaches the disciples 'Whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister: and whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all. For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.'³ All but the last verse here is given by Luke, apparently from another source,⁴ in his account of the Last Supper.

Here once more is the culmination of the thought of Jesus on this problem. What His thought was appears in His references to two themes upon which we have already touched in passing, and which we must now consider more exactly. Both are connected with the giving of the cup.

First there are the words 'This is my blood of the covenant' — in Paul 'the new covenant in my blood'.⁵ The background of the word 'covenant' is enormous: Dr. Ryder Smith calls it 'the ruling idea of the whole Old Testament'.⁶ Our study of the word 'wine' has already led us to it in the promise of Isaiah lv. 3: 'I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.' The most explicit Old Testament reference, however, is given by Paul's version of the words of institution; 'the new covenant' echoes Jeremiah xxxi. 31: 'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah.' It may be disputed whether Paul or Mark represents the actual words of Jesus at the Supper (it should be remembered that Paul's is the earlier account): but it is of great importance that Paul gives us this version. In his discussion of the covenant in Galatians iii, Paul stresses the covenant with Abraham, claiming that this has a higher authority than the law 'which came four hundred and thirty years after',⁷ and this antithesis, which arose out of the controversy with legalism, has tended to rule the thinking of the Church ever since. For Jeremiah, however, the new Covenant replaces 'the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt'.⁸ Jesus' answers to the temptations were drawn from the Deuteronic commentary on the Exodus, and the third temptation, as we saw, was to reject the first and greatest of the Ten Commandments given on Horeb: in other words, to reject the covenant. It cannot be too greatly stressed

¹ Mark i. 15.² Mark x. 24, 28-30.³ Mark x. 35-45.⁴ Luke xxii. 24-7.⁵ Mark xiv. 24 = Matthew xxvi. 28.⁶ 1 Corinthians xi. 25.⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 30.⁸ Galatians iii. 17.⁹ Jeremiah xxxi. 32.¹ De⁷ cf.

that the giving of the Law was the making of a covenant. 'The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day.'¹ The new covenant which Jesus makes is set against the Mosaic background still, both abrogating and fulfilling the old. While Paul dwelt, for controversial reasons, on the abrogation, Jesus thought mainly of the fulfilment.

The Mosaic covenant, as we have seen, was hard to accept lacking the answers to need and death which Moses had been only temporarily able to give. The new covenant is sealed by the death of the Messiah. The covenant of Moses was symbolized at Horeb by the blood of beasts. 'And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basins; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the Lord hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you.'² God and the people share a common life. Jesus makes the disciples drink of His own blood: 'He meant, surely, that the disciples were sharers in His "life" as Israel had never shared in the life of their sacrifices — or of Jehovah.'³ It is His death which makes this possible.

The question how it does so takes us to the second reference. His blood 'is shed for many',⁴ and Matthew adds 'unto remission of sins'.⁵ There is an irresistible reminiscence of the earlier Marcan saying 'to give His life a ransom for many'.⁶ The phrases are all echoes of the Old Testament. This has been demonstrated so often that there is no need to repeat here much that has been more ably expounded elsewhere.⁷ We need only point to two clear references. The idea of 'ransom' is linked with the new covenant in Jeremiah xxxi. 11: the covenant which Jesus offers rests upon a new deliverance — here is the Messianic hope. Deliverance ('ransom') is also the theme of Isaiah li. 9-11, where there is an explicit analogy with the deliverance under Moses. The crucial reference, however, lies in the words 'for many', which point to the teaching of Deutero-Isaiah about the Suffering Servant.

Isaiah liii. 11 and 12 stress the words. 'By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many: and he shall bear their iniquities . . . he poured out his soul unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors: yet he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.' The temptations in the wilderness faithfully represented the problems as Israel in the main had seen them; first need, then death, then as a consequence faith — how be loyal if loyalty is not rewarded? A more profound judgement sees that the problem of unfaithfulness, of sin, is primary. Even in the Old Testament this had been realized. The basis of Jeremiah's new covenant was an individual change of heart resulting from God's forgiveness of sin⁸: but Jeremiah left it without explication. The Deuteronomist proclaimed that suffering was the punishment of sin, but neither saw nor dealt with the problem raised, for example, by Job: why then do the righteous suffer? The Second Isaiah has the deepest insight of all: that by the suffering of the righteous sinners may be delivered

¹ Deuteronomy v. 2-3.

² Exodus xxiv. 6-8.

³ Ryder Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁴ Mark xiv. 24.

⁵ Matthew xxvi. 28.

⁶ Mark x. 45.

⁷ cf. especially Ryder Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 188f., 196f.

⁸ Jeremiah xxxi. 34.

from their sin, and the way opened to a full and glorious consummation of God's promises. 'He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.'¹ The suffering and death of the Chosen of God are the way to his glory. 'When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.'²

This is the way which Jesus takes. In view of the line of argument which we have followed, the suggestion that the choice of the phrase 'the servant of Jehovah' by Deutero-Isaiah was due to 'the almost contemporary Deuteronomic use of the term for Moses, who had been Jehovah's "servant" in the rescue of Israel from Egypt'³ is extraordinarily attractive: but whatever Deutero-Isaiah meant by it, it is clear that Jesus was thinking in this way. He is the new Deliverer, who shall come by death into His glory. Death is His glory. The Fourth Gospel reports that this is what He claimed at the Supper. 'Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him; and God shall glorify him in himself, and straightway shall he glorify Him.'⁴ 'Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that the Son may glorify thee: even as thou gavest him authority over all flesh, that whatsoever thou hast given him, to them he should give eternal life. And this is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ.'⁵

Let us sum up the whole argument. Through Moses God had delivered His Chosen People. In so doing He had fed them with bread from heaven, and intervened to save them from death: and for most of Israel these were the foundations of the covenant made upon Horeb. For such thinking there was an unanswerable problem in the recurrence of need and disaster, which attacked the covenant at its root. This is the problem which Jesus faced in the wilderness, and taught His disciples to face during His ministry: why not claim bread from heaven, deliverance in extremity? and if not, why be loyal? Jesus' answer is that God's primary purpose is spiritual, and that the material depends upon this. What man most needs is the Bread of Life, the Eternal Word of God: the Chosen of God have this life even in death, and death may be in fact the way by which God will give it to a sinful world. Through Jesus' loyalty, even unto death, the kingdom of God shall come with power. This is the basis of the New Covenant, to which the disciples are admitted at the Last Supper.

The promise, with this background, is explicit in Luke's account of the Supper. 'Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'⁶

The rest of the story is in the Cross, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the gift of the Spirit to the Church. Its end shall be when the Son of man is seen 'sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven'.⁷

CHARLES F. DAVEY

¹ Isaiah liii. 5.

² Isaiah liii. 10.

³ Ryder Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴ John xiii. 31-2.

⁵ John xvii. 1-3.

⁶ Luke xxii. 28-30.

⁷ Mark xiv. 62.

'QUIT INDIA!'

Shall Missions also Leave?

'QUIT India', the slogan with which Mr. Gandhi launched his campaign against the British Government after the failure of the Cripps mission in the Spring of 1942, has become the watchword of the nationalist movement in India. In its earlier stages Mr. Gandhi's campaign was meant, and was widely interpreted, as being a proposal for the physical withdrawal from India of the British civilians and all British and Allied troops. 'Whatever the consequences to India', he wrote in his paper, *The Harijan*, of 26th April 1942, 'her real safety and Britain's too lie in an orderly and timely British withdrawal from India.'

The pressure of Japanese forces on the borders of India and the criticism of realists among his supporters soon caused him to modify his original demand, and he later explained that he would be satisfied with 'the immediate abdication of the British from any share in India's government'. In this interpretation of the slogan he has been followed by the majority of the Congress Party, the focus of progressive nationalist sentiment.

'Quit India', therefore, does not imply today the physical withdrawal of the British from India. Apart from the cries of hooligan mobs or the fanatical imprecations of extremist political leaders, there is no demand for such an expulsion of all the British from the country. Most thinking Indians, indeed, recognize that such a separation would be neither possible nor in the best interests of India herself.

Nor do the majority of Indians desire it. It is one of the happy features of an otherwise tense and often depressing political situation that, while the British Government is described by Mr. Gandhi as 'Satanic', and while the most violent strictures are passed by other nationalists on the whole system of British rule in that country, the personal relations of Indians with individual Englishmen are still friendly and often most cordial. In the bazaar, in the train, or in social circles, the Englishman who shows a friendly spirit — with no trace of superiority or race prejudice — will still meet with a friendly response and the contribution he can make to the life of the country will be warmly welcomed.

But the main intent of the 'Quit India' slogan, the demand for the independence of India and her complete freedom from any control by the British Parliament, still remains and has grown more insistent in the years since the failure of the Cripps proposals. The Congress Party, which has taken the slogan for its battle-cry, by its size and influence is still the spearhead of the nationalist movement, but its conflicts with the other political parties, more particularly with the Muslim League, often obscure in this country the fact that they too are one with the Congress in pressing the demand for independence for India.

This applies, for example, also to the Depressed Classes. These outcasts, who from centuries of domination by the Hindus have good reason to know what Hindu rule means, and who for the first time under the British Government have received a chance to develop and organize themselves politically, are nevertheless willing under certain safeguards to risk the removal of their benevolent protector if only India may attain her birthright of *swaraj*. 'I yield

to none', says Dr. Ambedkar, leader of the Depressed Classes, on their behalf, 'in my desire for the freedom of this country.'

Even the liberally-minded group of so-called Non-Party Leaders, such as that mature and balanced statesman, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who thankfully recognize the benefits that India has gained from British rule, hold that she has now reached the stage when 'Good government is no substitute for self-government', and that for good or ill Indians must from now on decide their own political destiny. The political parties may vary in their ideas about the constitution of the government to replace the British Government, and in their demands for safeguards for their own communal interests, but on the main issue of independence all speak with one voice.

In this demand for independence Indian Christians today are one with the rest of their countrymen. There was a time not so long ago when the Indian patriot looked askance at his Christian brother, seeing in him a feeble imitation of the European, the 'yes man' of the Government, the running-dog of the British administration in India. Nor was the charge of denationalization altogether unjustified. In 1917 there was published a pamphlet entitled: *Indian Christian objections to Self-Government in India*, a plea put forward during the discussions leading up to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919. Such a document now has a value only as an historical curiosity. Few today in India would challenge the patriotism of Indian Christians. Not only have they individually identified themselves with the national aspirations of their country, but corporately also they have spoken with no uncertain voice.

In March 1943 the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, a body consisting purely of Indians and representing all sects of Protestant Christians in their civic capacity, passed a resolution which contained the words:

This Conference gives its unqualified support to the ideal of a free and independent India in a world brotherhood of nations, and considers that after the war all empire ideologies should be eliminated as a menace to the future peace of the world.

Similarly in January 1944, when the National Christian Council, which represents all the Protestant Missions and Churches working in India and under whose constitution at least one half of the membership must be Indian, met in full session at Nagpur, the Indian members, to whom was entrusted the task of preparing a statement on the Church and State in Post-War India, produced a careful and weighty document in which they say:

Educated Indian Christians fully share the national aspirations of their countrymen;

and again:

In all recent pronouncements of responsible Christian bodies the right of India to govern herself is taken as axiomatic.

Recently, in October 1945, the All-India Conference of Indian Christians has opened negotiations with the Congress Party with a view to securing protection for the rights of Indian Christians in the future constitution of the country, and opens its statement with the words:

Whereas the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, which is a body with nationalist aims and aspirations, shares with other Indian political parties a keen desire for a free and fully self-governing India in the very near future . . . the Executive Council consider it desirable that negotiations be started with the Congress authorities.

Whatever truth there may have been in the past that Indian Christians, by their connexion with foreign missionary societies and their dependence on foreign resources, had become denationalized and were prevented from identifying themselves fully with national aspirations, such a charge is not true today. Educated Indians are now sincerely anxious to make it clear that they are as patriotic as any of their countrymen, and share the national demand for independence.

In fact in one particular way they have set an example of patriotism to their countrymen. The Indian Christian community has consistently raised its voice against communal representation in public bodies, thus making clear that they are willing to set the welfare of their country as a whole above the interests of their particular community.

What then of Christian Missions in India? And what of the British missionary? In view of this political situation and the nationalist feeling pervading even the Christian Church, is there a place for him today in India? Is he still welcomed, and is he needed? These are questions which are exercising the minds of many supporters of Missions in these days.

There are, it is true, some Christians in India who say frankly that the day of the foreign missionary is over, that he should hand over responsibility to his indigenous brother and gracefully depart before political pressure turns him out. That there are now many qualified Indian ministers, teachers, and doctors who are capable of filling many posts previously occupied by Westerners is unquestionable; that the connexion of the missionary with an imperialist race, his prestige and financial potency, are hindrances in the development of the Church along indigenous lines is justifiably argued by some. But the view that his work in India is now over, or even fast drawing to a close, is certainly not held by the great majority of Christians in India. The great mass, both of illiterate villagers and of educated Church leaders, are united in asking for the help of the West in the personal service of missionaries.

Here is an extract from a letter of an Indian minister who openly professes his strong sympathy with the nationalist movement:

If anyone has understood the 'Quit India' policy of the Congress, there should be little difficulty to understand the needs and attitude of the Indian Church to missionaries. Gandhiji said that 'Quit India' does not mean all English people going away from this our land, but only the transference of power into the Indian hands, and that the best type of English people are welcome to stay and serve the country. I feel just the same about missionaries and the Church. . . . This country still needs godly men and women whose devotion to the service of Christ and his people is transparent, who love to learn the vernacular, and use it to proclaim the Message they are so filled with.

Another writes:

That our beloved country still needs missionaries from Western countries, especially England and America, and is willing to welcome them is not to be doubted at all. We want you. If ever we needed your co-operation, it is more so now than ever before.

And another:

We should always welcome those who would come to us as colleagues.

Those are typical of the sentiments of the mass of Christians in India. There is still a welcome for Christian men and women of the right sort from the West, and a desire for the experience and service which they alone can give to the Younger Churches in India.

But warm as is this welcoming call from his colleagues in the Indian Church, a still stronger compulsion upon the missionary is the realization that India as a whole still needs — urgently needs — his services. The work of Christian Missions in India during the past century and a half has been one of the most glorious chapters in the history of the expansion of the Christian Church. We have every reason to rejoice in the growth of the indigenous Church in numbers and in influence. But the transition from Mission to Church is still far from complete. The greatness of what has been achieved must not blind us to the fact that it is as nothing compared with the work that still remains to be done. The missionary faces today what the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram in 1938 called 'The Unfinished Task', and the immensity of that task still constitutes a challenge which the Older Churches of the West dare not disregard.

I. EVANGELISM

In the sphere of preaching the Gospel the work still to be done is immense. The Church in India, including Christians of all communions, now numbers about seven and a quarter millions, and it is making progress at the amazing rate of approximately three thousand souls every week. But in a population of 390 millions, that still leaves over 380 million people who as yet have not been won for Christ. There are still large tracts of the country, and many thousands of villages within the area of Christian Missions, where no Christian preaching is yet being done, and the name of Christ has not even been heard. These are the 'other sheep' of whom Christ spoke, and the Christian shares with Him the inner compulsion: 'Them also must I bring.'

The Church in India is alive to its evangelistic responsibilities: the Week of Witness, when hundreds of thousands of Christians, many of them illiterate villagers, set out to carry the Gospel to their neighbours, is in itself an impressive proof of its evangelistic zeal and a powerful example to many Churches of the West.

But the resources of the Indian Church are quite inadequate for the immensity of the task before it. Even for the shepherding of those already within the Church the leaders are strained to the uttermost. Many a young Indian minister recently out of probation finds himself in sole charge of a circuit with

anything up to thirty villages and five thousand souls to care for: older men may have two and three circuits of this kind. The vastness of the work to be done calls for the co-operation of men and women from the West who are filled with the love of Christ, and who are willing to take their place alongside their Indian brethren in the work of imparting that love to those who know it not.

For many this service will consist in the actual preaching of the Gospel, but more and more the missionary is being needed for the training of Indians, ordained and lay, to do a task which their affinity with their countrymen, their knowledge of the local language, custom, and religion, and many other natural endowments fit them far more fully than the foreigner. Theological education is becoming an increasing concern of the Church in India, and the Christian scholar with a zeal for theology and Church history will find in this work abundant scope for his abilities. Apart from the regular work of the theological seminary, the evangelistic missionary can do much by helping to organize retreats for pastors, refresher courses of Bible study for workers, camps for students, study circles and discussion-groups, in which the ordinary Church member can grow in the Faith and become equipped for the task of day-to-day witnessing to Christ.

II. EDUCATION

The wonderful contribution which Christian schools and colleges have made to India, the amount of work done, and the deep and wholesome influence which they have exerted on the whole life of the country, can scarcely be exaggerated. This has extended far beyond the bounds of the Christian Church. One is constantly coming across non-Christians in public positions who publicly and privately will bear witness to the value of the teaching they received in a Christian school or college.

But in spite of all that has been done by Missions and Churches, the latest figures show that even of the Christian population about seventy-five per cent still cannot read. This percentage may compare favourably with the all-India figure of eighty-eight per cent, but the Church cannot rest content while it has this load of illiteracy upon it. This drag on the life of the Church must be removed if it is to attain a position of stability and lasting influence in the country.

A goal of nothing less than a 'Bible-reading Church' must be attained. But how? Here again the internal resources of the Church are quite inadequate to meet the immensity of the need. The resources of the West in money and in personnel are needed to supplement the efforts of the indigenous Church if this burden upon its progress is to be rolled away.

The State too is alive to the needs of education in the India of the future. The Sargent Scheme of post-war educational reorganization and expansion is planned on a colossal scale. For British India alone it is estimated that no less than two million teachers will have to be trained in the next thirty-five years to provide an adequate educational system for the country.

Here is a great challenge and an opening for Christian Missions! It is incumbent upon us to see that in the training of these teachers the religious conception of education has its due place, and that the secular outlook does not gain complete mastery. There is urgent need of more Christian Training Colleges and

Christian educationists to train and supervise at least some of these teachers required. The reorganization scheme provides for the co-operation of voluntary agencies, and the co-operation of skilled European educationists always has been, and increasingly will be, welcomed by the governments of both the Provinces and the Native States. The day of the missionary teacher has still some of its best hours to run.

III. MEDICAL WORK

Of the need for the medical missionary and the welcome that he will receive from non-Christians as well as Christians there can be not the slightest doubt. All honour to the work that has been done so far by medical Missions in India. It is a cause for wonder and thanksgiving that in the general medical service of India one-eighth of the total effort is borne by Christian Missions.

As in the sphere of education, the work of medical Missions extends far outside the bounds of Christian medical institutions. There was a time, not far back, when ninety per cent of the nurses in India were Christians and eighty per cent were trained in Mission hospitals. Even now, when Indian women of all classes are coming forward to undertake this much-needed service, Christian Missions are ultimately responsible for the greater proportion of the nursing which is being done in India. Many doctors, too, both in Government institutions and in private practice, are Christians who had their training in Mission hospitals or with financial assistance from a Mission.

But in spite of all that the Church has done, the lack of medical service in India is still appalling.

(a) *Doctors*

For the whole of this sub-continent of nearly 400 million people there are approximately 50,000 doctors, i.e. one doctor to 8,000 of the population, and of these nine out of ten are in the towns. In the United Kingdom the ratio is slightly under one to 1,000, and in the U.S.A. one to 750 of the population. Taking a ratio of one to 1,500 as a not unreasonable minimum, 270,000 doctors are required to bring India into line with modern requirements.

(b) *Nurses*

Here the position is far worse. There are approximately only 7,000 trained nurses in India, with a ratio of one to 56,000 of the population. On the same ratio there would be less than 700 nurses for the whole of Great Britain. Actually in the U.K. the ratio is one to 300, and in the U.S.A. it is higher still. Assuming one nurse to 500 of the population as a reasonable aim, 800,000 nurses are required to meet India's needs. If public health nurses (80,000) and midwives (100,000) are included, India's aggregate requirements in the field of nursing come to approximately one million of personnel.

(c) *Pharmacists*

There are in all just 75 qualified pharmacists in the country, or one to 5,300,000 of the population. On a doctor-pharmacist ratio of three doctors to one pharmacist, 90,000 of this class of auxiliary personnel are required.

Where is this host of medical workers to be found to relieve the burden of disease and suffering that lies so sorely upon India, especially upon the villages,

where medical aid is practically non-existent? The governments, both of British India and the Native States, are awakening to their responsibilities in this matter, and schemes for post-war development are on foot, but it will be many a long day before official agencies alone can provide for India an adequate medical service, particularly in the sphere of nursing. In personally treating the suffering and in training others to do this work there will be for many years a need for the work of voluntary agencies, and India will welcome with blessings those who come in the spirit of the Great Healer to devote their lives to this ministry.

The non-Christian may oppose the work of the evangelistic missionary as 'proselytism', he may view with some suspicion the work of the Christian educationist, but for the medical missionary all creeds and classes are united in the welcome that they give. As Dr. J. Z. Hodge, late Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon has said: 'The last missionary to leave Indian shores, should there ever be a last, will almost certainly be a medical missionary!'

IV. SOCIAL REGENERATION

In this, 'the fourth dimension of missionary service', Missions in India have so far done but little. With the notable exception of one or two American Missions, there has been in the past a serious lack of concern for the economic state of the Christian convert and little attempt to remedy it on any wide scale.

But of late years, with the rapid spread of the Gospel in the villages and especially among the outcasts, there has been a growing concern for the poverty-stricken state of the majority of the Christians and an increasing realization that the Christian message must improve their economic condition if the Church is to attain to its full manhood in Christ. The peasant is the backbone of India's social system, but his methods of agriculture are still crude and unorganized, and rural life, with poverty and squalor as ever-present realities and famine always threatening, has remained for centuries on a low level. There is urgent need for the missionary with farming blood in him and the qualification of agricultural training who can devote his powers to improving the agriculture of the village communities of the Church and raising the whole standard of their economic life.

In at least these four great spheres of service Missions in India face today a huge Unfinished Task, and missionaries are urgently needed to answer these crying needs of the Christian Church there. At the present time our own Missionary Society alone has vacancies in India for 73 missionaries, 42 men and 31 women, posts with work waiting to be done, which have fallen vacant through lack of replacements during the war, and for which there are still no suitable candidates coming forward.

But the welcome of the India Church is given today on certain conditions; not all and sundry will be received with open arms. Those who would serve India must take account of the changed political atmosphere, both in the country as a whole and in the Church, and must be prepared to accommodate themselves to the new conditions.

Imperialistic-minded men and women, I am sorry to say, have no place in this country [says the letter of one of the Indian ministers previously referred to]. If they want to come to preach the Kingdom of God for us, and obstruct the attainment of independence in the realm of politics, the best thing for them is to stay in their own country. . . . The time is come when they should no longer look for top places, but be content with a second place anywhere. . . . It may be difficult for them to come to this country to serve under the Indians and I can sympathize with them . . . but nothing less than a Christ-like spirit will avail anything in these days.

We want you to come to us [writes another] as fellow-partners in the work to which God has called us.

Sympathy with the national aspirations, humility of outlook, the willingness to work with people of another race as colleagues and equals, perhaps in a subordinate position — these are essential qualities in the missionary in India today.

A second condition is that the missionary must have a sound education and technical training in some particular branch of Christian service, whether it be as a minister, teacher, doctor, nurse, agriculturist, or in some other vocation. The man (or woman) who has a variety of talents will find, of course, further spheres of service and be doubly welcome, but within the sphere of his own particular work he must have the training to make him fully competent at it. For today most missionaries have not only to do a practical piece of work themselves, but also to train Indians in doing it, and neither the Indian Church nor, in some spheres, the Government, will be willing to accept in future the missionary, however zealous and devoted, who has not the necessary technical training to enable him to do his work with competence and train others also in doing it.

But above all, whatever task he goes to India to do, the missionary must have the spirit of evangelism. 'The missionaries which our country needs', says one of the letters previously quoted, 'must be out-and-out evangelists, whose sole purpose, in whatever sphere of work they may be, is to proclaim the message of salvation in Jesus Christ out of their own personal experience.' 'There are millions of people still to know Christ in this country,' says another, 'and the primary job can be nothing but taking the Gospel of Christ to them.'

Those who can fulfil these conditions and who are willing to offer their talents for the service of India, will meet with a hearty welcome from the Church there, and will find in answering the clamant needs of that great and ancient country as it sets out into the new era of self-government opportunities for adventurous, fruitful, and satisfying service such as are probably found in no other place in the world today.

H. W. SIBREE PAGE

WESLEY AND LUTHER

THERE is one link between Luther and Wesley that everyone will recall. The greatest experience in Wesley's life happened when he went to the meeting of a Religious Society in Aldersgate Street, where someone was reading Luther's *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans*. The passage being read was one where Luther says that we 'can only do the will of God with a cheerful heart when we have the quickening Spirit of God

within us, and the Spirit is given only by faith in Christ. So that faith alone justifies, and faith alone fulfils the Law of God, for it inflames our hearts to do what the Law commands, and to do this willingly, in the spirit of love'. It was within a few moments of hearing these words that Wesley 'felt his heart strangely warmed' and knew that he 'did trust in Christ, in Christ alone, for salvation'. I think Wesley never alludes again to this work of Luther's.

In June 1741 Wesley records that he read Luther's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, and was bitterly disappointed, because (as he says) Luther both decries reason and teaches that Christ delivers as from the Law of God. The next day he warned the Society in London against 'that dangerous treatise'. This is surprising, for there is no doubt that a passage in it meant as much to Charles Wesley in the religious crisis of his life as the passage in the *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans* did to John three days later. The passage is Luther's exposition of the end of the second chapter of the Epistle: 'Who loved me, and gave Himself for me.' 'Use thyself', says Luther, 'to lay hold of this little word *me* with a sure faith, and apply it to thyself, and do not doubt that thou art of the number named in this little word *me*.' Some words of Luther were instrumental in leading both the Wesleys into the evangelical experience.

Once Wesley quotes a great saying of Luther's, and quotes it in German: 'I can only say, as a much greater man said, *Hier stehe ich; Gott helfe mich!*' This is specially interesting, because the words were written as late as 1781, and Wesley seems to have disused German completely after the breach with the Moravians in 1740. In November 1745, when many German troops were encamped on the Town Moor at Newcastle because of the Jacobite Rebellion, he says that he was constrained to speak a few words to them in their own language, 'though I had discontinued it so long'. I think the only other known example in which Wesley used German after 1740 was in 1754, when he read Bengel's *Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis*, because he wanted to use it in the *Notes on the New Testament*.

In the Preface to the *Notes on the New Testament* Wesley quotes another memorable saying of Luther's — 'divinity is nothing but a grammar of the language of the Holy Ghost'. In a letter to Miss Ritchie he quotes Luther's remark that 'a revival of religion seldom continues above thirty years', and comments that though it has been verified many times in different countries, it does not always hold true, for the Methodist revival had already lasted for fifty years and was at least as likely to continue as it had been twenty or thirty years earlier. Wesley quotes the saying again in the pamphlet entitled *Thoughts upon a Late Phenomenon*, and makes the point that with the Methodists there had been no formal separation from the Church on the one hand, and, on the other, there was no uniformity of religious opinion required from those who joined the Methodist Society: the only condition was 'a real desire to save your soul'. Wesley evidently suggests that the greater permanence of the Methodist revival was due to the catholic spirit of Methodism, and the absence of anything either schismatic or bigoted. In two of his sermons Wesley recurs to the same point — the religious decline that has often followed within a generation of a revival of religion — and mentions Luther each time. In another sermon, that *On Attending the Church Service*, Wesley touches upon separation, and, answering the argument that Calvin and Luther, with their followers, separated from a corrupt Church, he says: 'They did not properly separate from it, but were violently thrust out of it' — words prophetic of what happened to Wesley's followers in later years.

Once, in a reference to James v. 16, Wesley refers to Luther's remark, 'in the fury of his Solifidianism', that the Epistle was 'an epistle of straw'. All Wesley's other references to Luther, I think — there are about half a dozen of them — are merely passing allusions to his statement that the doctrine of justification by faith is *articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiae*.

In a letter to one of his critics Wesley says he knows 'that Luther, Melancthon, and many other (if not all) of the Reformers, frequently and strongly assert that every believer is conscious of his own acceptance with God; and that by a supernatural evidence'. Here is an example of the continuity of the evangelical witness from age to age. This emphasis upon what Samuel Wesley called 'the inward witness', was maintained in Germany among the Pietists, and then among the Moravians, and it was through a Moravian, Peter Böhler, that it reached the Wesleys. This is the central element in anything in Christianity that deserves to be called an experience of religion, and this is where Wesley was most in line with Luther, and also where he went beyond him.

For the most momentous connexion and contrast between Luther and Wesley lies in the fact that each shifted the basis of authority in religion. Luther did it deliberately, when he appealed to the authority of the Bible against that of the Church: Wesley did it, and scarcely realized that he was doing it, when he appealed to the authority of religious experience rather than to that of either the Church or of the Bible. That is a summary statement, but it represents the broad fact. And Wesley's attitude has been endorsed by all that has happened since. The importance of Schleiermacher is that he did, as a matter of theological dialectic, what Wesley had done practically and instinctively long before. Moreover, most religious thinkers today realize and confess that the authority alike of the Church and of the Bible—however high either is put—is at least mediated through religious experience, for the Bible is the literature, and the Church is the fellowship, created by that experience—the experience which centres and culminates in the fact of redemption in Christ. In the stress upon religious experience Wesley carried the principle of Protestantism to its logical conclusion, and also first brought into religious thought that habit of appeal to experimental fact which dates from the Renaissance and has made the modern world.

HENRY BETT

COMMENT OR FRAGMENT?

A Study of Matthew, Chapter 22, Verses 1-14

EVERY amateur photographer has suffered at some time or other the mortification of a spoilt spool. Generally he knows that he has no one to blame but himself, for it was rank carelessness which led him to give a second exposure to a film that already possessed a picture. If only he had remembered to turn the little knob the moment the snapshot had been taken, he would have been spared the sorry muddle development reveals! What makes matters worse is that, by sheer perversity, both pictures would have been first-rate but for the blunder—there is enough surrounding detail to satisfy him on that point, for the light was excellent and the subjects were all that could be desired. Of course he feels differently about the mishap if it is someone else's spoilt negative that he is examining. How could the operator have been so clumsy, or so brazen as to have preserved the evidence of his mistake?

All this leads up to a re-reading of the first fourteen verses of the twenty-second chapter of the First Gospel. They contain the Parable of the Marriage of the King's Son; two most perplexing verses which distract the mind; the Parable of the Wedding Garment; and then they close with the saying: 'Many are called but few chosen.' If verses six and seven are for the moment omitted, and the reader goes right on from verse five to verse eight he will find that his chief difficulty is surmounted though it is not resolved—for this he must be content to wait. With the omission of those two intrusive verses he has a perfectly coherent picture of the king's change of plan because of the unworthiness of the guests originally bidden to the marriage feast. Luke

has a story, the parable of the Great Supper (Luke xiv. 16-24), possessing many similar features but sufficient differences to mark it as a separate parable altogether. It is better by far to concentrate on the Matthaean story and leave its Lucan parallel alone. In Matthew the bidden guests ignore not merely the elementary courtesy of responding to the invitation either by acceptance or by declining it on any flimsy pretext — they 'make light' of it, that is, they 'neglect' it.¹ They are blind to the fact that by so doing they are guilty of much more than discourtesy — they are harming themselves, for the king's son whom they are treating with such disrespect will himself some day be king, and will not be likely to forget the subjects who slighted him on the joyous day of his marriage. The reason for their neglect was that one man went 'to his own farm' and the other 'to his merchandise'. Note well the irony of 'his own farm' — he does not realize that though his title-deeds may be beyond challenge, yet the safety of his farm is bound up with the well-being of the state whose ruler he ignores. Let the kingdom collapse into red ruin and revolution and where will 'his own farm' be then? So with the merchant, intent upon his bills of lading and his profits, who has no time to spare for the summons of his king — to attend a marriage feast will mean distraction from the rise and fall of markets — yet is that all? Successful commerce depends upon the stability of the body politic, as we present-day folk know all too well, yet this short-sighted merchant views his business as a world in itself and thinks that it will prosper whatever happens to the king's dominions, if only he devotes himself to it, and to it alone. Confronted with such disregard, the king acts promptly. The feast is ready and spread, and the day of joy shall not be spoilt by the boorish discourtesy of those originally invited — if the sons of privilege slight their king then the invitation shall go out to the commonalty, the loungers at 'the partings of the highways', where the streets converge upon the city gate, only to open out into country roads the moment that barrier is passed. The call now is to the rag-tag and bobtail, and thus the wedding is filled with guests — a surprised and highly delighted assembly when it sees the good things provided for it. So read, we have a clear and perfectly coherent picture, but that has only been secured by carefully avoiding the blur in the centre of it caused by the intrusion of verses six and seven — 'And the rest laid hold on his servants, and entreated them shamefully, and killed them. But the king was wroth; and he sent his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city.' What are we to make of them? Can we suppose that, with 'my oxen and my fatlings killed' the king would have time to send out a punitive expedition and then return to fill up the vacant places at the wedding feast? No comfort is to be derived from an examination of the textual evidence, for these difficult verses have as unimpeachable a pedigree as any of the others and go back to the earliest manuscripts we possess. There they are, and any explanation of their appearance must take that fact into account. Admittedly, as we read them, they mar the rhythm of the parable, but we cannot solve the problem of their presence by ignoring them. One theory, far too generally accepted, suggests that they are a fragment of another parable inserted — Heaven knows why — in this entirely unsuitable context, but that is surely to take a most uncharitable view of the evangelist's intelligence! Who would be so likely as he to see that he was marring his own handiwork? It is much more reasonable to regard these verses not as a forcible insertion of irrelevant material but as an entirely pertinent marginal note, dating back to the origin of the Gospel and rightly included in every copy of it, from that day to this. A student of the First Gospel must never allow himself to forget that overshadowing its compilation was the destruction of the Holy City in A.D. 70. As he recorded the events of the closing months of the Master's ministry, and came to this parable uttered within sight of the end, the evangelist saw that the world-shaking catastrophe in the

¹ cf. Hebrews ii. 3; 1 Timothy iv. 14.

immediate past was the fulfilment of the warning uttered half a century before by the King's Son Himself. Immersed in their own private interests, Chief Priests, Herodians, Pharisees, and everyone else who should have known better had 'made light' of His invitation and scouted all His claims. A man who wrote late in the first century of our era would know, too, all that we know, and much else, of the missionary work of the servants of the King's Son, who had gone forth into 'the partings of the highways' of the world to gather both bad and good into the neglected feast. The difficult verses are to be read, not as a fragment of some other parable most unsuitably inserted here, but as a comment begotten of the emotion of a man who is writing in the light of his own day, and in particular of the red and awful glare of a rebellious city which had not known the day of its visitation.

Next, we have to examine the Parable of the Wedding Garment which, as we have it, following closely upon the mission of the servants to fill up the vacant places of the feast, seems unduly harsh. How could the poor man, suddenly hauled in at less than a moment's notice to a wedding feast, be blamed that he did not go home first to put on his best clothes? The efforts of the commentators to explain this difficulty are more ingenious than credible, for they would have us believe that the king in addition to providing the edibles was also responsible for the wardrobe of his unexpected guests! Why resort to such a laboured explanation when a much more satisfactory one is forthcoming? The mistake lies in the assumption that this man was one of the captives from the 'partings of the highways', but is that justifiable? One of the marked characteristics of the First Gospel is its fondness for twin or parallel parables, seen most clearly in the thirteenth chapter, where we have first the Parable of the Sower and the Parable of the Tares, side by side, and later the Parables of the Hidden Treasure and the Pearl of Great Price similarly treated. So here, all that is needed to make complete sense of two neighbouring and kindred parables, is to repeat the opening formula of verse two and read: 'The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king which made a marriage feast for his son, but when the king came in to behold the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding-garment,' etc. In other words, the guest in this case had been invited with all due ceremony, but he had his own way of 'making light' of it — he did not decline the invitation but showed his contempt for his royal host and the importance of the occasion by attending in his work-a-day clothes! Such a breach of good manners merited the punishment meted out to him. His was the ignominy of banishment to the outer darkness before the feast began — an outer darkness shared, when one reflects, by the preoccupied farmer and the busy merchant of the earlier parable, who were oblivious of the fact that they owed their safety to the king's protection. The difference between the trio is that one is summarily ejected, whilst the other two are left to discover all too late the consequences of their shortsightedness. The aphorism which ends the paragraph applies to both parables — 'For many are called, but few chosen'.

Are these twin stories any the less relevant for twentieth-century readers than they were for the man who recorded them whilst the destruction of Jerusalem was still a recent memory? Like him, we cannot escape the background of our own times, and the events and tendencies of the days in which we live form the inevitable setting of all our thinking. We have not to travel far from the open but unentered doors of our places of worship to find men and women who are 'making light' of the invitation to the marriage feast of the King's Son, and even some who enter are blind enough to suppose that mere crossing of the threshold is sufficient, and that no obligation rests upon them to prepare worthily to do honour to Him who bade them come. The mass of men today are far too busy with their own concerns to bother about God, little recking that their liberty to follow their own bent is bound up with the Christian tradition which they treat so indifferently. They would give prompt enough atten-

tion to a bidding to pass the sentries at Buckingham Palace — an invitation from such a quarter would be regarded as a command — but they fail to realize that our sovereign lord King George and all he stands for derive their stability and dignity, as the Coronation service made most plain, from a Power infinitely more august. Let the Christian values which give worth to human society as we know it be persistently ignored, there can be but one conclusion to the matter, sooner or later there will be complete and irretrievable social collapse, and the signs of its beginning are not lacking. Ours is a generation living on its inherited spiritual capital; and squandered assets in morals, as well as in finance, cannot be replaced at a moment's notice when a crisis comes.

If the earlier parable applies most aptly to the contemporary scene, illuminating the present trend in civic and national life toward an utter disregard of spiritual obligation, the other speaks just as pertinently to the condition of the churches. The war has left its cruel scars upon our places of worship, but the emphasis in that familiar phrase should always be placed on 'worship' rather than on 'places', and no bomb has the power to destroy the sense of reverent awe with which alone we can worthily draw near to God. We hear much in these post-war days of 'plain repair' where a church, though grievously mauled by enemy action, still stands. By all means replace the shattered windows and make the damaged sanctuary, however homely, as fair and comely as it can be, but this is not enough. The King, whose palace it is, has another demand to make of us before we sit down with Him to meat:

Being of beings! May our praise
Thy courts with grateful fragrance fill;
Still may we stand before Thy face,
Still hear and do Thy sovereign will;
To Thee may all our thoughts arise,
Ceaseless, accepted sacrifice.

WILFRID L. HANNAM

THOMAS HARDY'S APOLOGY

In his *Later Lyrics and Earlier*,¹ Thomas Hardy inserted a Preface under the title, 'Apology'. In that 'apology' occur these words:

While I am quite aware that a thinker is not expected, and, indeed, is scarcely allowed, now more than heretofore, to state all that crosses his mind concerning existence in this universe; in his attempts to explain or excuse the presence of evil and the incongruity of penalizing the irresponsible — it must be obvious to open intelligences that, without denying the beauty and faithful service of certain venerable cults, such disallowance of 'obstinate questionings' and 'blank misgivings' tends to a paralyzed intellectual stalemate . . . And what is today, in allusions to the present author's pages, alleged to be 'pessimism' is, in truth, only such 'questionings' in the exploration of reality, and is the first step toward the soul's betterment, and the body's also. But it is called pessimism, nevertheless; under which word, expressed with condemnatory emphasis, it is regarded by many as some pernicious new thing. . . .

These words were written in 1922. The year is significant — four years after the conclusion of the Great War. And significant also because he went on to confess that 'a forward conjecture scarcely permits of the hope of a better time'. Pessimism or

¹ Macmillan.

prophecy — which? Hardy was not very hopeful, unless men's tendencies changed, of the outlook for art, literature, or high thinking. This is what he said:

Whether owing to the barbarizing of taste in the younger minds by the dark madness of the late war, the unabashed cultivation of selfishness in all classes, the plethoric growth of knowledge simultaneously with the stunting of wisdom, 'a degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation' . . . or from any other cause, we seem threatened with a new Dark Age.

Nevertheless, he did not suggest, though charged with being a pessimist, that men should fold their arms and allow it to come.

In any event, poetry, pure literature in general, religion — I include religion in its undogmatic sense, because poetry and religion touch each other, or rather modulate into each other; are, indeed, often but different names for the same thing — these, I say, the visible signs of mental and emotional life, must like all other things keep moving, becoming; even though at present, when belief in witches of Endor is displacing the Darwinian theory and 'the truth that shall make you free', men's minds appear to be moving backward rather than on.

Hardy's hope — if a pessimist can be said to have any hope at all — though he confessed it might be a forlorn one, was of an alliance between religion and complete rationality 'which must come unless the world is to perish, and will only come by means of the interfusing effect of poetry — the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge'. Religion — of the undogmatic order — and complete rationality constitute the only convincing ground for having hope in a better world. Without them, the world will perish.

Is there anything wrong with this view? Is it inaccurate — a bad case or a case wrongly argued? Have we here a deliberate turning away from the truth or a wilful distortion of the truth? Many, among Hardy's accusers, have condemned him out of hand, as though he had set out to hinder the truth. Is it not much more true to say — for even his predictions about the future were not so very far wrong — that he set out not to do damage to truth but to balance it.

OUR LIFE IS BUT BALANCE

If, without earning for him a disquieting opprobrium, such were true for Robert Bridges, why must the balancing of truth be less acceptable? No; whatever his faults, Thomas Hardy was never guilty of treason to the truth. Maybe he was often nearer to the heart of truth than many people supposed. Nevertheless, if there is no wilful distortion about Hardy's judgements, there is something that does not satisfy — something missing. To discover what is missing will not in any way detract from much that was valuable in what was given. Regret rather than condemnation is the proper attitude toward this strange, mystical, bewildered yet lovable man.

Thomas Hardy set out to counteract a too superficial view of life. He had little love or respect for people who were always looking for 'the honey-sweet return' from life or who constantly regarded 'silver linings' as inevitable and without any relation to any activity of their own. This sort of attitude to life — the folded arms and fanciful expectancy that everything would turn out all right in the end — tortured Hardy. He regarded it with the utmost disdain: it was too smug, too childish, too superficial. He was sceptical of people who assumed that the universe must always be comfortable and pleasing — especially for them. He had little sympathy with those who turned away their faces from tragedy, ignored unpleasant facts and situations and gave themselves over to wishful thinking. This attitude he reveals clearly and unmistakably in his poem, 'To a Lady'. This person had been offended by one of Hardy's

book
more

Ther
firm,
the b
to a
and
perso
In
devia
and

Hard
not v

It we
egly
other
stimu
be q
grou
and
refus
repre
repre

books and the poet knows that no more of his books will ever 'press her cushions more'. He will lose his place, in her mind, to those less forthright. But he answers:

So be it. I have borne such. Let thy dreams
Of me and mine diminish day by day,
And yield their space to shine of smuggler things;
Till I shape to thee but in fitful gleams
And then in far and feeble visitings,
And then surcease. Truth will be truth always.

There is nothing truculent in those lines, nothing censorious. But they are strong, firm, and unyielding; and Hardy, simply because he is concerned about the truth — the balanced truth — cannot be any other. He could not present to anyone, not even to a lady who would patronize him — maybe least of all to such — something smug and cloying that he might receive her praise in return. Here, at least, is strength of personality.

In this attitude Hardy revealed a consistency from which he never wavered nor deviated. As far back as 1899, in his poem 'To Sincerity' is to be found the strength and firmness of belief and resolve which characterized the whole of his life.

O sweet Sincerity! —
Where modern methods be
What scope for thine and thee?

Life may be sad past saying,
Its greens for ever graying,
Its faiths to dust decaying;

And youth may have forknown it,
And riper seasons shown it,
But custom cries, 'Disown it:

'Say ye rejoice, though grieving,
Believe, while unbelieving,
Behold, without perceiving!'

Hardy will have none of it. Such ways are insincere. Nevertheless, he ends his poem not with censure but with an appeal.

Yet, would men look at true things,
And unilluded view things,
And count to bear undue things,
The real might mend the seeming,
Facts better their fordeeming,
And life its disesteeming.

It would appear, therefore, that from this forthright way of his — never glossing over ugly facts; never representing anything unfaithfully; never saying, because most others say so, that you believe, when deep in your heart you do not believe; never simulating or pretending — Hardy's justification of his attitude to life cannot seriously be questioned: it partakes of the heroic. Not here, surely, is to be found sufficient ground for criticism. For nothing which goes to the making of the right sort of man and personality is missing. One thing at least is true, Hardy was not an escapist: he refused to run away from life or to turn his back upon it. Moreover, he insisted upon representing life as it is, and to make deductions from what he found. The one represented his strength of mind, the other often led him to seeming despair. But

particularly was he disdainful of people who saw nothing of the problem, perplexity and tragedy of life — the unperturbed and undisturbed. He, for one, determined that they should not 'get away with it'. He was a disturber of their peace, and for such a disturber awaited judgement.

Let him in whose ears the low-voiced Best is killed by the clash of the First,
Who holds that if way to the better there be, it exacts a full look at the worst,
Who feels that delight is a delicate growth cramped by crookedness, custom, and
fear,
Get him up and be gone as one shaped away; he disturbs the order here.

Hardy's greatest difficulty was in regard to the acceptance of the idea of God. Sometimes, as F. L. Lucas pointed out, he thought of Him as unconscious, sometimes as non-existent, and yet again as one realizing too late what the world has become and grieving compassionately that it ever existed. Hardy himself once said: 'I have been looking for God for fifty years, and I think if He had existed I should have found Him — as an external personality, of course, which is the only true meaning of the word.' There, then, was his difficulty. And Hardy is not to be condemned on that account. Not being able to believe is very different from refusing to believe. There is no sin in honest doubt. It is the doubting that is not honest which constitutes the sin. Hardy was the relentless foe of the dishonest doubter, as he was of those whose pretended belief was no belief at all. And, surely, to protest a belief in God and yet not to honour Him is far more deserving of condemnation than to seek Him in sincerity and yet have to confess an inability to find Him. It may well be that Hardy was nearer to God in his doubts than some people are in their pretensions to faith.

The poem, 'God-Forgotten', presents the judgement that God lost His interest in the earth from the first. But the blame is to be attached not to God but to the earth itself.

Of its own act the threads were snapped whereby
Its plaints had reached mine ear.

In consequence, the earth suffers.

Thou shouldst have learnt that not to mend
For me could mean but not to know.

Yet God has mercy. He sends Messengers to put an end to what men undergo. Hardy goes on musing:

Homing at dawn, I thought to see
One of the messengers standing by.
— Oh childish thought! . . . Yet often it comes to me
When trouble hovers nigh.

Yet not always does Hardy find this concern of God for His creatures, nor did he hesitate to be ironical about man's worship of Him. The reason is (it is found in 'The Bedridden Peasant', which is a poem to an unknowing God) that no prayer can cross over to God. God, if He could hear and know, would not be so indifferent to the peasant's pain. Yet the peasant worships! And there, for Hardy, is the unsatisfying faith, a faith divorced from complete rationality. Yet such a poem cannot be said to represent a lack of spiritual sense in the poet. Not only did Hardy possess this spiritual sense, as might be proved from his beautiful and mystical poem, 'The Oxen'; he was also acquainted with religious affairs and knew his Bible well. Higher criticism of the Bible is revealed in 'The Respectable Burgher' (though here he laughs at those

unable to see value in such scholarship) and knowledge of biblical incident is seen in the poem, 'The Servant's Quarters', a poem dealing with Peter's denial of Christ. Hardy, quite definitely, was interested in all that appertained to religion and God. Yet, after his long period of searching, he never broke through his doubts. Nevertheless, this does not mean that he was a pessimist. Rather, he was a questioner. When he cries

O life with the sad seared face,
I weary of seeing thee,
And thy draggled cloak, and thy hobbling pace,
And thy too-forced pleasantry;

he does not mean that he is weary of life but that he is wearied of that sort of life that is seared, bedraggled, and forced. He desires something different — something very much better. Nevertheless, life is never altogether dark for Hardy. Hope is not entirely quenched but it is a hope in natural things. Still, it is an indication of that something which is beyond and outlives tragedy. Thus, in 1915, Hardy could write in his unforgettable 'Time of the Breaking of Nations':

Yonder a maid and her wight
Come whispering by:
War's annals will cloud into night
Ere their story die.

Beyond that, his only confidence is in the loving-kindness of man. The better thing in life — in life here on earth — depends, not on God but on man.

The fact of life with dependence placed
On the human heart's resolve alone
In brotherhood blended close and graced
With loving-kindness fully blown,
And visioned help unsought, unknown.

It is possibly because Hardy, looking long and hard at life and seeing much that was sad and unmerited, was impressed by the incongruities of life and experience that we have his little ironies — gems in their way, if mordant. Indeed, here is an attempt to get men not only to laugh at themselves but at their ways and ideas. And who can fail to laugh at, say, 'The Curate's Kindness' or 'The Slow Nature'. But Hardy's laughter is grim, grim enough to merit the title, 'Time's Laughing Stocks'. 'The Church Builder' and 'Ah, Are You Digging on My Grave?' cut the heart even though they bring a smile to the face. In the former, a man builds a costly church. But, as he observes how, though he has sacrificed his all, the world remained as miserable and as unmoved as ever, he loses faith both in it and in religion. So one night he hanged himself in the chancel. With grim irony Hardy comments,

'He might,' they'll say,
'Have built, some way,
A cheaper gallows-tree!'

In the second poem, a dead woman hears a scratching above her. In sequence, she begins to ask if it is her faithful love, her friend, her enemy. But no; Hardy gives her no satisfaction there — they have all forgotten her. It is only her little dog that scratches. Ah, then, the little dog is faithful! But the reply is:

Mistress, I dug upon your grave
 To bury a bone, in case
 I should be hungry near this spot
 When passing on my daily trot.
 I am sorry, but I quite forgot
 It was your resting-place.

This is cold indifference with a vengeance. The woman is not allowed to delude herself. For that reason some people, as F. L. Lucas put it, 'hate this poem with a peculiar hate. But life often and often is just like that. . . .' Hardy neither deludes himself nor allows other people to delude themselves.

Though ironical, Hardy was no cynic. For there were other strands in his soul — beauty, tenderness, understanding. In the end, he asked no more than that he should be remembered, remembrance being the only justification of the idea of immortality. He puts it in his poem, 'Afterward':

If, when hearing that I have been stilled at last, they stand at the door,
 Watching the full-starred heavens that Winter sees,
 Will this thought rise on those who will meet my face no more,
 He was one who had an eye for such mysteries?

And will any say when my bell of quittance is heard in the gloom,
 And a crossing breeze cuts a pause in its outrollings,
 Till they rise again, as they were a new bell's boom,
 'He hears it not now, but used to notice such things'?

There is modesty in such remembrance, and there be some who will add thankfulness thereto. But — but, is that all? Is this the full life that the One who came to give a new dignity to men intended? Not at all. Hardy's life never gained life's secret. There was something missing. His sky was never blue and the brightness of his flowers was always fleeting. All men lived in inescapable shadows, relieved only by intermittent flashes of light.

Where did Hardy go wrong? Surely it was in his insistence on complete rationality. For the secret — the miracle — of life is not found there, nor its triumph, nor its victory. If Christianity is true, and the Christian life the truest and fullest life of all, the answer to all vexatious questionings, as to all negations of life, will be found in faith. Hardy put complete rationality where he ought to have put faith. Nevertheless, it may well be that in the kindly and wondrous providence of God, Hardy's insistence on the place of reason in estimating and appraising life and its problems had its place. Hardy may be the poet of midnight, as Robert Lynd suggested in his Introduction to Methuen's *Anthology of Modern Verse*, but not without 'passionate memories of the throbbings of noontide'. Yet when speculation about him has come to a close, Hardy will always remind men that they are well repaid for their seeing. For he himself was one who saw. And here is one glimpse of his seeing that the present writer will always rejoice in — the opening line of Beeny Cliff:

O the opal and the sapphire of that wandering western sea . . .
 There, at least, is the seeing of noontide.

T. W. BEVAN

A NOTE ON LITERATURE AND RELIGION

We all know, more or less, what we mean by Literature and Religion, but when we begin to think carefully about the relations between them, the matter is not so simple. It is well to recognize that some vital issues are involved here, issues that specially concern all who are called to be, in any sense, leaders in the world of religion.

Certain broad distinctions are easily made, but they are apt to be misleading because they lead to over-simplification. For instance, many would say that Literature is only concerned with writing, it is obviously a minor matter; whereas Religion is really a way of living, it touches life at every point. For practical purposes should we not regard them as distinct and separate activities? True, Literature is one thing and Religion another; each exists in its own right. But they are both expressions of the human spirit: in one case what is expressed is an attitude of the writer toward the world of man as man; in the other, an attitude or response toward God.

We should all agree that Literature is an Art; as one great critic has put it, the Art of expressing oneself in beautiful and memorable language. Moreover, there is always a definite influence on our emotions and imagination. We may also regard Religion as an Art; it is nothing less than the Art of Life. We remember Blake's extreme way of putting this, his vehement insistence that 'Jesus Christ and His disciples were all Artists. Prayer is the study of Art; Praise is the practice of Art'. So then, we might go on to speak of Religion as the great Art (living the good life), and of Literature as one of the lesser Arts; but it is equally true that all genuine Art is one and indivisible. Its essence is *vision*, individual and particular vision; its expression takes many different forms. The saint expresses his glimpse of the Beatific Vision directly through the medium of worship and the life of devotion. The born writer, assuming he is a genuine Artist, has his vision of the True and the Beautiful and expresses that in his chosen medium. Now if, as we firmly believe, God is the Author of all Truth and Beauty as well as Goodness, then we may surely claim, not merely that 'Tis no sin for a man to labour in his vocation', but that our Heavenly Father is well pleased with such devotion. All sincere writers, are, in that sense, essentially 'religious' — even though they are anything but 'orthodox' — but not all religious people are writers. As touching the heart of true religion, wayfaring men, yea fools need not err therein, but they are not likely to be gifted writers!

It is so easy to say that Religion is sacred and Literature is secular, as though that settled the matter. It is an old stubborn fallacy to regard Literature as something 'merely secular', a sort of daily drudge, or at best a useful 'handmaid of Religion'. After all, is there anything in the world that is entirely 'secular' except sin? Literature must be free; the Muses will never go in chains; unless — as a great writer once said — the links be made of love. Certainly that freedom may lead to some queer results. One is reminded of the artist in Don Quixote who, when asked what he was painting, replied: 'That is as it may turn out!'

What is the bearing of these general principles on the special subject of the preacher's training? The Bible is a whole literature in itself; it is an essential part of any literary education — but, in a wider sense, the Bible needs to be supplemented in various ways; it needs Literature to reinforce its great message. We must always reckon with the double strand in our Western civilization: the Hebraic and the Hellenic. All this is usually taken for granted and yet it is surprising how blind some religious people are to such an obvious truism. I remember a very well read minister telling me how a famous preacher remarked, on seeing his library: 'Why do you need so many books? Surely your one business is to save souls!' Not only that, but the distinguished visitor stated publicly that in his opinion literary studies and deep religious convictions were rarely found together. No wonder the famous essayist, John Foster, wrote more than a century ago on *The Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion*. Surely we now

realize that the ideal education for a minister cannot be less than 'all-round culture'. Dangerous though that word may be, a greater danger would be for that training to be narrowly academic or fussily religious. Unfortunately the 'handmaiden of piety' theory still flourishes. Its extreme supporters find Literature very useful in supplying apt quotations for homiletical purposes; they favour poetry and music when sacred names and themes are introduced.

It is time we all realized that Religion has much to learn from Literature, and that there is more than one way to 'ascend the hill of the Lord'. Literature is a kind of mirror of life. A really good novel exhibits character in a most vivid manner; it offers an interpretation of life. Yet there are many painfully 'good' people who are so filled with prejudice (that spider of the mind) that they seem content to know and care very little about the real life of their fellow men. A national literature is a reflection of a national civilization as R. G. Moulton once wrote; and world Literature is a sort of autobiography. Such studies are an immense help to an all-round development, a wide outlook, a quickened imagination.

It may well be that we are about to witness a new flowering-time of the Arts; at any rate that is the firm belief of many leading thinkers. In this great post-war age which is now beginning, there will certainly be notable developments, one of which will no doubt be a new revival of learning in general and Literature in particular. Already there are signs that the newspapers, books, wireless, etc., are taking the place of organized Religion with ordinary people. We must know and sympathize as far as possible with all this: and if it appears that for them the old Biblical framework no longer holds, all the more need for intelligent Christians to be at home in the two realms of Literature and Religion, and to show the natural action and inter-action between them. After all, it is one world; and more than that, it is His world who has made it and redeemed it.

CHARLES GIMBLETT

Ministers in Council

It is a pleasure to note how District after District is now arranging for Ministers' Refresher Courses. All who have taken part in them testify warmly to their high value. It is not only that mental stimulus is derived from the lectures given by those who are expert in their subjects but also a tonic is found in freedom from circuit duties for the two or three days spent together and in the leisure of spirit thus afforded for communal devotional life. The happy fraternity of the common room is an added vital link. As distinct from a Connexional gathering, a District fellowship has the advantages of closer intimacy and the development of a District *esprit de corps*. The movement is, as yet, only in its early stages and may be expected spontaneously and naturally to show vigorous growth in various directions.

* * * * *

LONDON SOUTH-EAST REFRESHER COURSE. In January the ministers of the London South-East District met at Kent College, Canterbury, the Rev. F. Pearn, then Secretary of the Synod and now Chairman of the District, presiding. All were deeply grieved that the Rev. J. J. Leedal, the Chairman of the District, was lying seriously ill. To him there had always been a special appeal in ministerial Retreats. The Rev. E. Gordon Rupp, M.A., B.D., spoke on 'The English Protestant Tradition and its Future' and later gave a report on a visit he had recently paid with the Bishop of Chichester to Germany. The Rev. W. S. Hanley Jones read a paper on 'The Fall' which evoked an eager discussion. Both speakers rendered exceptionally fine service.

The sense of profit from the day thus spent together was so keen that this District is hoping next year to have at least two days' sessions.

* * * * *

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE DISTRICT REFRESHER COURSE. In the Spring for the second year in succession a number of ministers and all the probationers of the Newcastle-on-Tyne District met at Deneholme, Allendale. The general theme taken in various phases was 'Preaching'. The Rev. A. G. Utton, M.A., B.D., opened with an address on 'The Place of Preaching in our Ministry'. In the second session the Rev. J. Jones dealt with 'The Place of Preaching in our Worship'. To the Rev. J. Muckle was entrusted 'The Bible as Material for our Preaching'. The Rev. J. C. Bowmer had for his topic 'Theology as Material for our Preaching'. The Rev. A. Bellwood introduced 'Experience as Material for our Preaching'. The Retreat ended on the Friday morning with a Communion Service. The Chairman of the District, the Rev. J. G. Lane, presided at all the sessions. The method utilized by this District of a continuous topic throughout all the sessions is one which will no doubt be considered by other centres in their arrangements.

* * * * *

THE HUMOUR OF CANON DEANE. In *Time Remembered* by Canon Anthony C. Deane (Faber, 18s.) will be found a delightfully chatty story of a man who has entered into life at many fascinating points. Evidently a born journalist, he has the happy knack of imparting interest to all his writing — and apparently to his speaking. But then he has the saving gift of humour.

Thus, himself now with his eye on the end of active service, he tells with a chuckle of a clergyman who had announced his retirement and was watched by the choir boys as he packed his robes in the vestry after his last service. 'But, sir,' said one of them, 'you won't want those any more.' The explanation was given that though no longer vicar of the parish he hoped very often to officiate in that and other churches. 'Oh, we didn't understand,' said the youth in rather disappointed tones. 'We all thought you were going to become a gentleman.'

He refers to a design once playfully entertained by Dr. R. F. Horton and himself to make an anthology of the worst hymns. Dr. Horton, however, outdid any he could quote by producing a book used at a chapel in his youth containing the line 'Permit thy worm to bow'!

To Dr. Robertson Nicoll he attributes the story of a negro famed for his laziness who, to the general surprise, found salvation. Invited to pray he said 'Use me, O Lord, use me in Thy work' — paused and then added 'I mean, Lord, in an advisory capacity'.

* * * * *

'HOW TO ENJOY THE BIBLE'. Such a raconteur as Canon Deane might be expected to bring charm to any presentation by him of Biblical matters, and when in 1925 he acceded to the request of Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton to write a book on 'How to Enjoy the Bible' he achieved not only an immediate success but his book has continued to be a prime popular favourite. No less than 70,000 copies have been sold. Yet, oddly enough, the author received letters of shocked protest after publication from correspondents who thought the title profane and considered enjoyment of Scripture irreverent.

Canon Deane's line of approach, however, was the outcome of some years' experience in the attempt to pass on the modern view of the Bible to schoolboys and girls and to the general public. In his contacts with sixth and upper fifth forms he had learnt that the most important rule of all is that your lessons must be interesting. As he puts it, 'If you fail in that, you may give the soundest teaching with the utmost lucidity, but you will be wasting your opportunity. Lessons of every kind, of course,

ought to be made interesting, but to make your Scripture lesson unappetizing, to leave boys and girls with the impression that the Bible is dull is quite criminal. You have no right to be content unless they look forward to this lesson as the most thrilling and delightful of the week.'

In recent years he has given popular lecture courses on the Bible in different towns — especially in Yorkshire — by the invitation of interdenominational committees and was impressed by the eagerness of the public on this theme. In Liverpool, in 1938, at a meeting commemorating the fourth centenary of the English Bible, on a hot summer's night, he found in the St. George's Hall an audience of 4,000.

The conviction has deepened in Canon Deane's mind that most of the efforts to make the ordinary man form or resume the habit of Bible reading has been on wrong lines. He has been taught to think of Bible reading as a task to be performed rather than as a delight to be enjoyed and, as Dr. Johnson once remarked, what a man reads as a task will do him little good.

Here is a viewpoint surely to which all churches need to take heed, and it would mean much if to each congregation and every Sunday School class can be communicated the allurements of interest in the Scriptures which Canon Deane has both felt himself and conveyed to others.

* * * * *

THE ROMANIST NOW OFFERS THE BIBLE! Knowing only too well, as every Protestant does or should, what has too often been the Romanist policy of withholding or discouraging the free use by the layman of the Bible in the vernacular, a man may well rub his eyes when he sees published under official sanction *Enjoying the New Testament* by Margaret T. Monro (Longmans, 8s. 6d.). The Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, s.j., in a foreword commends this as in line with the lately-formed Catholic Biblical Association in England. It seems odd to read that an indulgence of 300 days can be gained for reading the Bible for a quarter of an hour and a plenary indulgence if the quarter-hour's reading is carried out daily for a month. But the author is careful to add that it is better not to force one's self into reading the Scriptures for a set time if less reading and more reflection is bringing spiritual profit.

The suggested reading of the New Testament is divided into twenty-one weeks. For the first week the initial chapter headed 'Getting Under Weigh' is devoted to the book of Acts which is described as one of the world's great thrillers. To anyone who might get bogged at Stephen's speech the advice is given to skip it, though it is remarked that even this speech gets exciting if it is remembered that St. Stephen was on trial for his life and instead of proving his own innocence he proved the guilt of his judges — a madly brave thing to do.

The rest of Miss Monro's book falls into five parts. Part one designated 'Greece and Rome' has sections entitled respectively 'The First Epistle' (1 Thessalonians), 'Marana, tha!—Our Lord, Come!' (2 Thessalonians), 'New Christian and Ancient Jew' (Acts again), 'Children of the Freewoman' (Galatians) and 'The Gospel according to St. Paul' (1 and 2 Corinthians).

Part two 'Rome' has three chapters, namely, 'The Gospel according to St. Peter' (Mark), 'Confirm thy Brethren' (1 Peter), 'The Law of the Spirit of Life' (Romans). Part three 'Palestine' takes in four chapters, 'The most dear Physician' (Luke), 'The Wisdom from Above' (James), 'Greater Glory than Moses' (Hebrews), 'Thou Son of David' (Matthew). Part four 'Later Epistles' is sub-divided into (a) 'From a Roman Prison' — with sections on 'The Fulness of the Godhead' (Colossians, Philemon), 'Citizenship in Heaven' (Philippians), 'In Heavenly Places' (Ephesians). (b) 'St. Paul at Liberty Again' — with a chapter on 'Faithful Sayings' (1 Timothy, Titus). (c) 'Apostolic Farewells, the shadow of martyrdom', with a chapter on 'If we Suffer we shall also Reign' (2 Timothy, Jude, 2 Peter). Part five, headed 'The

Beloved Disciple', contains three chapters: 'Amen, come Lord Jesus!' (Revelation), 'Walk in the Light' (1, 2, and 3 John), and 'We Saw His Glory' (John).

After each section is a paragraph or sentence 'To Think About' with a question for consideration arising out of the New Testament portion read. The answer to each question is given in an appendix, but the reader is asked to be a sport and try to work out his own ideas before turning to the end.

In an Epilogue 'What Next?' suggestions are offered for further reading. Here is one hint. 'Learning by heart is unfashionable nowadays and we no longer get the thrill in childhood which made memorizing a natural habit. But we need not surrender tamely to the spirit of the age. Especially those who are young enough to acquire a new habit will lay up a priceless treasure for their whole lifetime if they try to commit to memory passages from the New Testament — fancy being able to cheer your heart in a queue by running over St. Paul's great poem on charity.'

The Romanist position naturally appears in the prescription of the Douay version, though the rendering into English from the Vulgate by Monsignor Knox is also recommended together with the Westminster version, a translation from the Greek.

Used with discrimination, this book would be stimulating to any reader. Teachers could gain hints on the presentation of the broad outlines of the New Testament. Like Canon Deane, Miss Monro is an unrepentant believer in enticing folk to the perusals of the New Testament by the prospect of sheer pleasure and enjoyment. It is to be hoped that she will draw many in her own communion to giving pre-eminence to the Bible as the Rule of Faith.

* * * * *

IS THERE A PERSONAL DEVIL? In 1941 Mr. C. S. Lewis wrote in *The Screwtape Letters* 'There are two equal and opposite errors into which our race can fall about the devils. One is to disbelieve in their existence. The other is to believe and to feel an excessive and unhealthy interest in them'. Since then others have taken up the discussion as to Satanic existence and power.

In *The Devil and God* (Lutterworth Press, 4s. 6d.) Dr. William Robinson (Principal of Overdale College and Professor of Christian Doctrine and the Philosophy of Religion in the Selly Oak Colleges) makes his contribution.

Admitting that no profession of belief in the devil is required in the early Christian creeds, Apostles', Nicene, or Athanasian, nor in the ancient Christian hymns such as the Te Deum, Dr. Robinson points out that the object of these creeds and hymns was to focus attention upon God and not on any devil. That there was at the time of the making of creeds and hymns a belief in the devil is evident from the fact that all converts from the beginning of the third century at least and probably much earlier were required to say at their baptism 'I renounce thee Satan and all thy servants and all thy works'. In this omission from the ancient formularies Dr. Robinson sees a warning against dualism with its acceptance of an original, self-existent evil power.

Yet coming to an examination of Bible teaching, he urges that as opposed to the supposition of many that belief in the devil is a mark of primitive thought and should be found writ large in the Old Testament, on the contrary, searching for evidence of the devil in the Old Testament is like searching for a needle in a haystack. Actually it is in the New Testament that the devil appears so definitely. Particularly in the account of our Lord's temptation do the Gospels present the devil as a personal force. Dr. Robinson holds that to refuse to accept this lands us in serious difficulties with regard to the doctrine of the incarnation. But the devil here portrayed is shown as created and not self-existent. And the concern of the Bible is to warn men of his activity and then centring main attention on God to lead the Christian to conquest. At the end of a vigorous canvassing of the whole subject from the theological and

philosophical standpoints, Dr. Robinson quotes a remark of William James. He had been looking at a picture by Guido Reni in the Louvre showing the archangel Michael with his foot on Satan's throat and exclaimed, 'The world is all the richer for having the devil in it so long as we keep our foot on his head' — but the foot must be not ours alone, but that of the God-Man, Christ Jesus.

W. E. FARNDAL

Recent Literature

Interpreters of Reality. By Gwilym O. Griffiths. (Lutterworth Press. 5s. 6d.)

If it is true that the heresies of one age are the orthodoxies of the next, it is equally true that the beliefs of the present have unsuspected roots in a distant past. Those who would trace the *preparatio evangelica* are often led into unfamiliar and half-hidden recesses of thought. A striking instance of this has just been given us by the Rev. G. O. Griffiths. Those who know him (and they must be many) will think of him as a preacher with wide and discriminating knowledge of poets and thinkers of very diverse schools, from all of whom some fresh light on the truth of the Gospel may be obtained. He has now published 'a Comment on Heracleitus, Lao-Tse, and the Christian Faith'. A daring juxtaposition! And the more so because Heracleitus has always been known, not without reason, as the Obscure; and the 'way' or 'Tao' of Lao-Tse, if understood by the prophet himself, has been clear to few others. The three main principles of Heracleitus — change, strife, fire — are familiar to all students of early Greek philosophy. The whole world is in a perpetual flux, with no stability, no permanence; it consists, or stands together, not in harmony and co-operation, but in contention, strife, and the endless clash of opposites. It is made up, not of water or air, as Heracleitus' predecessors has suggested, but of flames which interpenetrate and torture its struggling mass. What a cosmic picture! But there is a fourth element to which Mr. Griffiths has assigned more prominence than it often enjoys — the Word which stands for order and eternal law, and to which another great teacher who dwelt at Ephesus gave a yet deeper meaning. It is here that Greece touches China; for the 'Tao' of Lao-Tse, a contemporary of Heracleitus, as of Jeremiah, stands, as Mr. Griffiths holds, for this same order, to be neglected or transgressed at our peril. In some eloquent pages Mr. Griffiths shows how deadly that peril has been and still is.

One does not need to be deeply read in philosophy, ancient or modern, to be fascinated by this little work. All the same, the author presupposes some acquaintance with both Heracleitus and Lao-Tse, and this brings me to my one complaint against him. His book ought to have been at least twice as long. He could then have done something to penetrate the obscurity of his philosophers and fortify his interpretation of their riddles, or, to use his own phrase, to elucidate the intricacies of the 'knight's move'. Both Heracleitus and Lao-Tse lived before the metaphysical had been clearly distinguished from the cosmological. Perhaps Mr. Griffiths would have us bring them closer together again.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

God and Beauty, by Basil Viney; *The Daring Church*, by Arnold H. Lewis; *A Unitarian View of Mysticism*, by Sidney Spencer; *Jesus and His Gospel*, by Wallace Tavener; *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, by Herbert Crabtree. (Lindsey Press, 6d. each.)

This second instalment of a series of booklets in which Unitarians seek to state their faith and outline their contribution to religion in a changing world, illustrates the characteristic defensive attitude of Unitarianism today. In *God and Beauty* the author attempts to set forth, in popular form, the aesthetic argument for theism, asserting that

There is no such cleavage between Unitarianism and Trinitarianism in regard to aesthetics as is the case regarding theology. There is much that is helpful here but the argument is not fully developed. In *The Daring Church* the writer appeals for 'a combination of courage with caution', since this is as needful in a process of intellectual challenge to theological thought as to an explorer, a mountaineer, or a military commander. But obscurantism in the Church is not so deep as is suggested, and there is little appeal for the kind of daring action which the Church so direly needs to undertake at this time. In *A Unitarian's View of Mysticism* there is a useful and well-written account of the mystical experience, with numerous quotations from mystical writers. It is, however, neither surprising nor satisfying to read that in Jesus 'we see not a miraculous incarnation, but the revelation of the Divine glory which dwells in the heart of all'. In the last analysis Jesus was more than 'a liberated soul'. In *Jesus and His Gospel* the author attempts some outline of a historic figure which now towers ruggedly over the mountains of dogmatic decay'. He makes some estimate of the enduring vitality of Jesus by emphasizing 'the vigour of a teaching which still moves and judges us'. But the Resurrection is not to be explained merely as a subjective experience of the disciples — it was an objective reality. Also, the New Testament is surely more than 'the documentary relics of a ferment'. However, the writer firmly believes that in our world 'the surest promise . . . is in the fact that it has never finally or utterly rejected the Gospel of Jesus'. Finally, in *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, the author likens Trinitarian theology to a medieval city, with narrow lanes that once were well trodden. Though many still revere this city, men 'can no longer afford to be cluttered up in its tortuous streets', but must travel upon new highways of thought. While the metaphysical approach to the doctrine is considered, there is little suggestion of the fundamental fact that the origin of the doctrine lies in the dynamic experience which belonged to the early Christians and which, sooner or later, demanded some attempt at explanation. It is hardly true that orthodoxy, in attempting to rationalize its experience of Christ, has narrowed its conception of God by the creation of this doctrine. The Incarnation cannot be dismissed as mythological idealism and the doctrine of the Trinity goes much deeper than mere variety in manifestation. While the worship of 'the one informing mind . . . beyond all the manifold aspects of nature . . . manifesting a community of purpose running through all living things' is true worship, it is not sufficient to explain the Christian experience of the New Testament. This series of booklets, with its clear and lofty spiritual purpose, stimulates thought, but to many its teaching will remain unsatisfying.

JOHN T. WILKINSON

The Birth of Judaism. By Dorothy Batho. (S.P.C.K. 5s.)

The late Miss Batho's book can be thoroughly recommended to all who desire further acquaintance with the two hundred years from the siege of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. to the close of the Old Testament history. There is much of interest and usefulness to the teacher, the preacher, and the general reader. The story is told clearly and concisely; no words are wasted and yet it is not a bald account. There are sufficient quotations and references to show that the Old Testament is closely followed. At the same time there is much valuable incidental matter — for instance, a useful note about the modern Samaritan community. An attempt is made to be fair to people whom the modern mind finds it difficult to appreciate, such as Ezekiel and Nehemiah, and it is good to see a clear statement of the rearrangement of the contents of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah generally accepted today, and a consistent and correct spelling of the name of Nebuchadrezzar! There are three good maps, with not too much included in them, and eight pages of photographic

reproductions of ancient inscriptions and writings. The only thing the book lacks is a time-chart.

H. A. GUY

Judaism. By I. Epstein. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

This most valuable introduction to the understanding and appreciation of the living religion of the Jewish people first appeared in the early summer of 1939 and quickly ran through its first edition. In a brief Epilogue its distinguished author, who combines with an encyclopaedic knowledge of the teaching of the Rabbis something of the insight and moral passion of the prophets, spoke of an oppressive fear that was haunting mankind — 'that something like a universal cataclysm may before long overtake the world, and bring civilization crashing down in ruins about our ears'. The storm broke all too soon and on none more devastatingly than on the Jewish people themselves. The second edition of the book carries a postscript which reminds the reader that 'out of a total of some sixteen million Jews before the war, at least four million, and perhaps more — not counting those fallen in battle in defence of humanity — have perished in the death-camps, slaughter-houses, and gas-chambers in Europe'. Yet in spite of this unprecedented tragedy, Dr. Epstein believes that for what he calls the necessary task of "moral rearmament" no people possesses a greater spiritual potential than the people from whose loins the great prophets have issued. This is a challenging claim for a Jew to make, but those who know little of the religious tradition which gives it authority — and how few Christians there are who really know very much of the post-biblical development of Jewish religious life! — should hasten to take advantage of the reappearance of Rabbi Epstein's book. I have been recommending it for years as one of the best introductions to Judaism, and I shall continue to do so with all the greater enthusiasm because I realize even more clearly today than I did in 1939 how important it is for the Christian to have a better understanding of the religion of those who are potentially one of his strongest spiritual allies in what Dr. Epstein calls the task of 'transforming humanity into a common brotherhood of men and women, knit together in service for the glory of God and His Kingdom'.

WILLIAM W. SIMPSON

Satan, A Portrait. By Edward Langton. (Skeffington. 12s. 6d.)

A long generation ago Dr. A. E. Garvie wrote: 'It may be confidently affirmed that belief in Satan is not now generally regarded as an essential article of the Christian Faith, nor is it found to be an indispensable element of Christian experience.' This is a sweeping statement, but it may be admitted that Satan and his satellites do not now hold the place in Christian thought that they did in the Middle Ages, when the imagination of devout people literally ran riot about the devil and his activities. There has been, in more recent times, a not unnatural reaction, with a tendency to scepticism as to the very existence of the devil. The existence of Satan is of necessity bound up with that of the origin of evil. Is the latter to be sought in the recesses of every human heart, or is it a baleful inheritance from man's jungle ancestry, or is it to be derived from an external source — in other words the devil? Dr. Langton's book is an attempt to contribute to the solution of this problem. He has spared no pains in research, for he is obviously familiar with the whole literature of his subject at first hand. He is equally at home with the work of the early Christian writers, of the Scholastics, of the Reformers, and of later writers. The results of his wide research are concisely set forth in this most informative volume. In it he puts his readers *en rapport* with the whole development of Christian thought about the origin and personality of Satan, not disguising the difficulties which face the student on the problems with which he is throughout confronted. Dr. Langton's adequate and judicious treatment of his subject leaves little room for criticism. With his point of

view and findings we find ourselves in general agreement. If he has not reached a final solution of his problem, this may well be because it depends upon data which are at present beyond our reach. Yet Dr. Langton has carried us a step forward, and we thank him for a valuable contribution to theological literature.

W. ERNEST BEET

The Ministry of the Word. By F. D. Coggan.

Strange Victory (Holy Communion). By Canon Max Warren.

The Book of Common Prayer. By Archdeacon Harrison. (Canterbury Press. 6s. each.)

The Canterbury Press has issued the first three volumes of a new 'St. Paul's Library'. We heartily commend them, for they present Evangelical Theology with a freedom and fullness that is very stimulating after so much vague and futile humanitarian teaching. Modern scholarship has aided the writers to give full-orbed statements of the deposit of Christian teaching in language understood in our time. They face modern facts, give reasoned statements, and show devotional feeling in expression that will aid all readers — ministerial and lay — in the present life-and-death struggle for the Truth. No preacher of the Gospel can fail to get help from Dr. Coggan's *Ministry of the Word*. The Principal of the London College of Divinity clearly shows that New Testament teaching has the reality and the enlightenment needed now. He says: 'Prefabricated preaching will carry no conviction to such an age as ours' since it needs teaching as positive and affirmative as that of the New Testament, which 'marched to the sound of a trumpet'. Man is incorrigibly interested in the ultimate issues of life, and all the best literature of the world is eloquent with this hunger for God. Preachers who have the root of the matter within them should follow Foch's slogan, 'toujours l'attaque', and go 'over the top' to fight Satan — ever remembering that Jesus Christ, risen from the dead, has given us His promise in our heritage of the Holy Spirit of power that we shall beat down Satan under our feet — 'His foes and ours are one'.

Strange Victory is an able book, which helps us to meet 'Christ the Victor' in the Sacrament of Fellowship and to receive the Food of Everlasting Life at His hands. The joy of the Lord is the characteristic of our gathering at the Lord's Table that the author first stresses. His exposition of the 'classic' New Testament idea of the Atonement leads up to a balanced statement of the Anglican interpretation of the Evangelical position concerning the Lord's Supper. He makes apt quotations from the works of Edward Bickersteth and Daniel Wilson and from the hymns of Charles Wesley. This book rightly criticizes us as individuals and as a community of Christians for acting as if we stood with Peter beside the brazier, doing our best to ensure that the darkness of Calvary shall indeed be a 'darkness over all the earth', when we gather at the Holy Table. The sobbing notes of the negro chorus are true: 'I was there when they crucified my Lord.' 'We all were, and are', says Dr. Warren, but we may go on to share 'the strange victory' of His resurrection with Peter, whose song of praise we have in his preaching at Pentecost, when he effectively proclaimed remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost from the Risen Lord. This book is no academic statement about a ceremony in Church. It brings Christians into effective contact with the brutish world around the ark of God. Dr. Warren suitably acknowledges his debts to other writers. Lack of space forbids further expression of the high value of this book.

The Book of Common Prayer finds an able exponent in the Ven. D. E. W. Harrison. Here 'the Anglican heritage of Public Worship' is linked with earlier Christian formularies, and illuminating 'notes' are subjoined. It should be studied along with Stanley Morison's *English Prayer Books*. While the writer makes a plea for alterations in the services, yet he rightly avers that the revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* is

not our primary task, but to bridge the gulf between the Church and the masses. Controversial matters like the revision of the Holy Communion should wait. None the less there should be more of *Christus Victor* in it.

We trust that the 'St. Paul's Library' will have many readers.

G. SWAIN

Those of the Way. By Willard L. Sperry. (Independent Press. 6s.)

The many English readers of the Dean of the Harvard Divinity School's *Religion in America* will turn with interest to this new book by Dr. Sperry. It is a study of some aspects of Christian life and thought in the modern world. Starting from the first designation of Christian believers, 'the people of the Way', the book presents the Christian religion as a distinctive way of thinking and living, a new approach to the problems of individual and corporate life. The Christian Way brings those who take it into fellowship with a great historic tradition; it is 'a well-worn path', while at the same time it is a way of experiment and adventure, the finding of a road through the perplexities of a new age. The book is perhaps typical of some aspects of American religion as Dr. Sperry has himself portrayed it. Its theology is implicit rather than explicit, and one reader at least would have liked some clearer recognition of the fact that behind the Christian Way lie the great facts of the Christian Creed. But it is a stimulating book, illuminated by a wide knowledge of modern literature and a large experience of modern life. The reader will be prepared to believe all that Dr. Albert Peel says in his preface of Dean Sperry's profound influence on young America, and of his achievement in making the Chapel of Harvard a vital force in the life of the oldest and most distinguished of American universities. While the book was written for Lenten reading, it is apt for all times.

FRANCIS B. JAMES

Systematic Politics. By Charles E. Merriam. (University of Chicago Press, via Cambridge Press. 21s.)

One of the minor pleasures in reading this book is to trace the footnote references to Professor Merriam's other books. For many years he has been both a distinguished American writer on Political Theory and a man of action whose services have been continually employed by the Government. But whilst this new study is indebted to his earlier books, it makes its own particular contribution, for in it the author's mind ranges over the whole field of contemporary politics. It will be valuable, therefore, to any student of government (a term which Dr. Merriam uses interchangeably with 'politics'). The reader will find a full discussion of the roots and ends of government and of what the author describes as its 'tools' and 'organs'. There follows a survey on orthodox lines of the different types of rule, and of the tensions within a Government. The book concludes with an analysis of the trends of government today and what one may anticipate in the future. The worth of the book is increased by Professor Merriam's habit of summarizing his conclusions at the end of each section.

The book is not without its imperfections. Professor Merriam makes his meaning plain, but unlike his fellow American, Walter Lippmann, he cannot make politics exciting. The general reader will find that it is rather like a medicine which does one good but which the doctor is unable to make very pleasant. Since the author is more a legalist than a philosopher, his judgements not seldom lack penetration. A surface explanation has width but lacks depth. Lastly, he has the American bias which inclines to a liberal rather than a social democracy. The values of both should be conserved, and the greatest political problem of today, neither fully grasped nor expounded here, is to reconcile the claims of the individual with the much needed

authority and control of the whole. Professor Merriam, with his staunch belief in reason, science, and education, is in the same company as our own scientific humanists—J. D. Bernal, C. H. Waddington, Julian Huxley, and J. B. S. Haldane. He sets himself against the prophets of pessimism and disaster and speaks glowingly of the dignity of man and his high destiny. His final paragraphs are undiluted in their optimism. 'The acceptance of creative evolution as the proper role of man will eventually transform the spirit and the institutions of education, of industry, and of government, opening a broadway to the realization of the highest and first values of human life. . . . Free men—in free states—in a free world—these the future government may bring.' Would it were so! This is how men used to talk before two world wars had shattered their pride and taught them the essential truth of man's fallen nature—of his dependence and not his independence. The Professor has neither read men nor history aright to talk so blithely. We must walk more humbly than he would suggest if we are to possess the Promised Land.

MALDWYN EDWARDS

Christian Witness in the Post-War World: An Ecumenical Symposium. (S.C.M. 3s. 6d.)

Men at Work. By G. W. Davis. (S.C.M. 2s. 6d.)

The State and Ourselves Tomorrow. By C. R. Cook. (S.C.M. 2s. 6d.)

God, Man, and Sin. By Francis L. Wheeler. (Skeffington. 5s.)

The first of these forward-looking books is the most comprehensive; in fact, it suffers from the attempt to cover too much ground. It is introduced by Dr. A. C. Craig as, in a sense, a literary deposit of the Religion and Life Weeks, and perhaps its greatest value lies in its reflection of a striking measure of unanimity among the Protestant Communions, and therefore in the encouragement it gives to mutual understanding and common witness regarding Social Teaching, Education, and International Affairs. It is in the treatment of these themes that we feel the lack of space most severely, but the last three chapters, dealing with corporate and individual Christian witness and Christian worship, are very suggestive. Dr. Newton Flew's contribution on 'The Common Message, An Agreed Basis of Doctrine', is outstanding.

According to the (paper) covers of their books, Mr. Davis writes on the future of Industry, and Mr. Cook on the future of the State. It would be more accurate to say that both are mainly concerned to trace past developments and to display present tendencies. Most readers, however, will find this to be an advantage, for each survey is packed with information, and, after all, our effectiveness in shaping the future to Christian ends depends a good deal upon our understanding of the past and the present. While Mr. Cook's analysis of the nature and anatomy of the State appears to be a trifle hasty, his discussion of the new conception of its duty to its citizens is very stimulating. If Mr. Davis's chapter on 'Government Controls and the Future' has been somewhat out-dated by the march of events, one is in hearty agreement with the purpose served by the greater part of his book, which is to help in bridging the gap between industry and organized religion, for the present cleavage does great harm to both sides.

Of *God, Man, and Sin*, all that needs to be said is that it is a simply written exposition of the theme suggested by the title. It is by an Anglican priest and is likely to appeal most to Anglicans of the 'higher' sort. Fewer misprints and a more liberal indication of the sources of quotations would have been welcome.

DERRICK CUTHBERT

Reconciling the World. By Albert Peel. (Independent Press. 5s.)

The Christian Layman Looks Ahead. Edited by Frank Ballard. (Independent Press. 5s.)

Admirers of the great talents of Dr. Albert Peel, ex-President of the Congregational Union, will be glad to have a collection of addresses which he delivered in the war

years. They exhibit his powers of forceful appeal, incisive statement, and ingenious illustration. They give the impression, however, that their author sometimes deliberately refrained from pressing to the heart of his subjects. A rather wistful call to 'youth' is based on the invitation which Moses gave to his father-in-law, Hobab.

Dr. Frank Ballard, the minister of one of the most outstanding Free Churches in this country, has tried an experiment open to few of his Methodist brethren. He arranged for various members of his congregation, all of them in important positions in public life, to give a series of addresses on the duty of Christian laymen in different spheres. The addresses vary considerably in value, the most impressive being by the one woman contributor. They would have gained if the concluding address, by Dr. Ballard himself, had done more to sum up the nature of the Christian contribution to life so urgently needed today.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

The Teaching of Christian Doctrine in Schools and Colleges. By G. A. Richards. (Religious Education Press. 4s.)

Miss Richards is firmly convinced that Christian doctrine can and should be taught to all school-children from the age of twelve upwards. She holds further that it should be related at all points to the daily life of those who learn it; and she believes that all questions that arise in young minds about Christian doctrine, including those which are very difficult or (at least to an earlier generation) very embarrassing, should be faced and discussed by the class, and even sometimes precipitated by the teacher. She does not argue theoretically for these convictions; she gives in detail a scheme by which they can be put into practice, and says that the scheme has been used with great success. Her book is very stimulating, especially, perhaps, to the contra-suggestive. Unfortunately for its success, the doctrine that Miss Richards herself teaches and expects her readers to teach will appear unpleasantly Liberal to the neo-orthodox and a trifle naïve and thin to the true Liberal. Moreover, she disposes somewhat cavalierly of contrary opinions; and those who sympathize with her main contentions may find it hard to agree that twelve is the right age to begin theology, and to accept a scheme which involves the discussion of God's omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence at that age. But instead of being put off by these things, the wise reader will consider very seriously Miss Richards's real contribution to Religious Education — her view that there is a place for theology in secondary schools and that all its questions should be squarely and honestly faced by the Christian teacher in his class.

R. E. DAVIES

The Adventure of Youth. By Olive A. Wheeler. (University of London Press. 6s.)
God and Things. By Bryan Anstey. (S.C.M. 4s.)

The increasing prominence now being given to the study of the needs of youth and of the nature of essential education is among the very few good by-products of the war. On the manifold questions connected with both of these perplexing problems we are all of us in need of guidance. By her scientific knowledge, her wide reading, and her experience of all the details and difficulties of these and kindred subjects, Dr. Wheeler is eminently qualified to give us just the needed help. We commend her book, not only to teachers, but also to parents and to all who have to do with children and adolescents in our churches, Sunday schools, guilds, clubs, and similar organizations. The subjects dealt with are of vital importance to them, as indeed they are to all the world, for there can be little doubt that not the least among the causes of the last war was the nature of the 'Education' which for many years was forced upon the youth of Germany. If our children's children are to be

saved
and i
appro
value
the ex
God
writte
ask al
a hap
so oft
be in
quant
a boy
Apart
We co
girls,
Christ
The G
The
mater
ily goo
from
presen
these
mind,
In the
about
given
langua
acts of
some
childr
ception
unders
Getting
Careers
A Pray
The B
6s.
It is
ever r
why.
ability
(Churc
class),
them.
Mar
of you

saved from a similar or worse tragedy, it can only be, alike in Germany, in England, and in all other countries, by giving our youth an education which shall increasingly approximate to the methods and ideals of the one great Teacher of us all. The value of Dr. Wheeler's book is greatly increased by the notes on further reading at the end of every chapter.

God and Things is a fascinating little book. It consists of a number of short letters written by his father to a boy of eight. It deals with questions which children often ask about God and 'things'. We know of no other book quite like it; he is certainly a happy lad whose father is able and willing to attempt to answer questions which so often are not fully answerable. If anyone should think that no boy of eight would be interested in such matters as evolution, the nature of the Universe, and the quantum theory, it should be remembered that the book is intended, not only for a boy of eight, but for grown-up people, as well as for the boy himself at a later age. Apart from one or two slips, there is nothing here which he will have to unlearn. We commend his father's letters both to all who have to do with intelligent boys and girls, and to all who are still 'children of a larger growth'.

THOS. H. BARRATT

Christianity goes into Action. By Ernest H. Hayes. (Religious Education Press. 5s.)

The Good News of Jesus. By Mary Entwistle. (Religious Education Press. 5s.)

These two books are new volumes in the 'Teachers' Guides' and offer much material suitable for teachers taking Senior and Infant classes respectively. *Christianity goes into Action* has much valuable matter, tracing the story of Christian pioneers from the days of the Acts of the Apostles (on which there are four lessons) to the present time. The last three lessons are on Nansen, Kagawa, and Aggrey. Both these volumes will be valuable if the advice in the General Introduction is borne in mind, that they are not a substitute for the teacher's own reading and preparation. In the volume for infants' teaching there is a tendency to sentimentalize the stories about Jesus and there is a marked contrast between the account of Helen Keller, given as a 'modern illustrative story', which is told in straightforward, concise language, and the lessons dealing with incidents in the Gospels, especially the healing acts of Jesus. There is also a somewhat scornful attitude toward any attempt to make some of the Gospel accounts, especially the miracles, more intelligible to modern children. The writers of such volumes often seem to forget that critical and even sceptical minds can live in very young bodies, and there is little attempt to meet or understand their difficulties.

H. A. GUY

Getting to Know God. By Frederic Greeves. (Epworth Press. 6d.)

Careers for Young Methodists. Edited by William Upright. (Epworth Press. 1s.)

A Prayer Project. By J. M. Macdougall Ferguson. (Religious Education Press. 6d.)

The Book which Demands a Verdict. By Mildred Cable and Francesca French. (S.C.M. 6s.)

It is no secret that Mr. Greeves is highly esteemed at Broadcasting House. Whoever reads this collection of talks, broadcast during 1944 and 1945, will understand why. They are excellent. One of our most urgent needs is for men who have the ability to teach the Christian Faith in language that interests the man outside the Church. Mr. Greeves has this gift. Quite apart from the subject matter (itself first-class), the talks are examples of modern evangelistic method. We strongly recommend them.

Many who are working among Youth will have noticed the increasing readiness of young Christians to think of their daily work in terms of vocation. This is one of

the most encouraging signs of the times. School-leavers ask their Minister or Scoutmaster about a 'useful' or a 'Christian' job, rather than search for a post with 'easy money' or long holidays. The Rev. William Upright's book is therefore timely. It gives practical and detailed information about many callings, both inside and outside the organization of the Church. It will serve admirably the young men and women coming back from the Forces with a desire to do something more constructive than their pre-war job; and it will be continuous value in our Guilds and Youth Fellowships.

The third book is an interesting account of a Junior Sunday School experiment. It was well worth publishing. Its 'Self-teaching' method ought to be used in our schools more frequently. The prayers which close the pamphlet, themselves written by children, are suitable rather for analysis than for general use.

Miss Cable and Miss French have won the admiration of Christians of many communions by their tireless missionary enterprise, but they have not maintained their reputation in *The Book Which Demands a Verdict*. With their experience one would have expected something much more fresh than this. A great part of it has already been written (and better written) in the annual reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Further, one would have expected something more challenging! Miss Cable and Miss French tell how the Bible has survived in one land and another; they do not succeed in bringing home its incisive demand of us! Published with such a title, by such a house, in such an age, the book ought to bring home the forceful impact of the Bible's judgements on people like ourselves. But it fails to do so.

WILFRED WADE

The Myth of the Negro Past. By Melville J. Herskovits. (Harper Bros., \$4)

The problem of the negro population is one of the most acute of the internal questions of the United States of America. In 1938 the Carnegie Corporation of New York arranged for a distinguished Swedish scholar, Dr. Karl Gunnar Myrdal, to organize a general study of the negro in the United States. This book is an outcome of that project. It examines the oft-made assumption that the American negro is a man sundered from his past, cut off from his African heritage, bereft of any traditions or culture of which he may be proud. Herskovits believes that this assumption has helped to accentuate the uneasiness of the relation between white and black in the New World, adding to the white man's sense of superiority and to the black man's feeling of inferiority. Therefore he examines the validity of the assumption, and sets himself to discover whether Africanisms persist in the life of the descendants of those who were transported into slavery. He has the advantage of knowing negro life, not only in the United States, but also in the West Indian Islands, British Guiana, and Brazil. The field covered is wide, both geographically and sociologically. The first half of the book deals mainly with historical data, the second half with the contemporary scene. Many interesting glimpses of negro life are given and compared with corresponding features of life in those parts of West Africa from which the slaves were mostly taken. 'Motor movements', etiquette, family organization, bestowal of names, methods of child rearing, burial customs, religious and magical practices, language, folk-lore, music, and dancing are among the many phases of life described. The evidence given makes it difficult to resist the conclusion that many threads from the African pattern of life have been taken over the ocean and woven (perhaps unconsciously) into the fabric of the new life. White pressure and the dominance of white culture have not stripped the negro of all that was his in the days before slavery.

On two points the book leaves something to be desired, though there are good reasons for this. Several times, because of paucity of information and untrustworthy

ness of material, the author has to break off just when we wish him to continue. This is to be expected in what is largely a pioneer volume, but it rouses the hope that further investigations will be made. In an appendix Herskovits suggests directions in which further research is desirable. There is plenty of work to be done before firm and final judgements can be properly made. The other defect of the book is due to the fact that it was not written for publication. The author's aim was to provide, fairly quickly, relevant and significant material for Dr. Myrdal, and this material was felt to be so valuable that it was published, though it had not been worked into final literary shape. Had there been more time, doubtless the style would have been improved. Neither defect detracts from the value of the book as a contribution to the fuller understanding of the negro problem. Such careful, patient and unbiased investigations are important aids to the negro's understanding of himself and to the white man's understanding of the negro, and both these are needed for the solution of a very intractable problem.

J. LESLIE WEBB

Africa Advancing. By J. Davis, T. M. Campbell, and M. Wrong. (Free on request from Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.)

The Analysis of Social Change. By G. and M. Wilson. (Cambridge Press. 7s. 6d.)

The first of these works is a record of observations and conclusions gathered by a team of experts in rural science and development and in literature during a three months' tour of West Africa from Sierra Leone to the Congo. The primary purpose of the journey was to study rural development work in all its aspects as practised by Government and Missionary Societies, and to stimulate the further spread along modern lines of such activity as a principal means of enabling the African to meet effectively the challenge of post-war years. The book is, therefore, in the main, practical, setting the problem to be solved not only in the light of history and of past social standards, but also in its relationship to the new policies of colonial development which are being devised by every major European power which has a stake in West African soil. Chapter 6 (together with an appendix giving in full the sections of the Charter of the United Nations dealing with non-self-governing territories and the principle of trusteeship), provides valuable, and indeed indispensable, material for Missionary Societies as they mould their future policies in line with the changing times. Succeeding chapters indicate the directions in which such policies might be shaped and implemented, though many who know their West Africa and its peoples will decidedly refuse to endorse the support given in chapter 13 to the findings of the Minority Report of the Elliott Commission on Higher Education.

We owe the second book to those brilliant and talented anthropologists and sociologists, Godfrey and Monica Wilson. Having made an intimate study among certain tribes in Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia of the subtle changes which are evolving in their primitive society as a result of the impact of intrusting cultures and civilizations, they argue their way to a fascinating thesis of the inevitable results of such contacts. The scale of social life is widened, producing many previously unknown unevennesses. Mobility is increased, with advantage in some directions and painful difficulties in others. Impersonality of relations, both with the supernatural powers and with men, leads to the decline of reliance on magical religions. Uneven development under changes in tribal, social, and family life, and also the disinclination on the part of white peoples to surrender their own magical views of race, introduce grave disequilibriums. In the end, we are led to the same conclusion as that reached in *Africa Advancing*, namely, that there can be no stability to Africa's future without full mutual understanding by both races — black and white — of one another, a complete respect for each other's institutions, and a

readiness to sink all Nazi-like insistence on essential difference in a willingness to co-operate in a common effort for Africa's progress into true culture, true art, and true religious feeling.

F. W. DODDS

Primitive Marriage and European Law. By D. W. T. Shropshire. (S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.)

Religion and the Family. By Geoffrey Hoyland. (Allen & Unwin. 6s.)

Confronted here at home with our own grave problems of marriage and morality, we may easily forget that even greater difficulties arise on the mission field. In the first book Dr. Shropshire, an anthropologist, reviews the situation in South Africa after twenty years of experience as an Anglican missionary. The study includes evidence gathered from over two hundred witnesses, native and European. The reader is given a vivid picture of the break-up of established tribal custom under the impact of European patterns of society, and of the moral chaos which follows. Illegitimacy, sexual promiscuity, desertion of wives and children, and juvenile delinquency are recorded as occurring on an appalling scale, as Bantu men and women, torn up from their roots in the native *kraal*, are plunged into the impersonal life of the towns, where the restraints of public opinion and social sanction are absent, while the incitements of drink, the sex film, and the example of 'bad whites' are prevalent. Dr. Shropshire is concerned for the stabilization of marriage. He urges the registration of the native *lobolo* marriage throughout the Union, together with the clarification and simplification of the procedures both in civil and in Christian marriage. He proposes a practical plan to deal with the three communities concerned — those still adhering to native custom, those who have accepted European patterns, and the 'problem' group which is in a state of transition from the one to the other. While the absence of any explanation of native terms and local allusions unfortunately limits the usefulness of the book to the general reader, it will be of vital interest to all who are concerned with these problems as they arise in Africa.

In the second book two series of broadcast talks, given in 1944, are moulded together into a stimulating little book. The first part shows how fundamental the family group has been since the days of pre-history, and convincingly attributes to its disintegration in the modern world much of the 'personality disorder' of our time. It ends with a persuasive plea for restoring the fellowship, in work and play, of the 'family gang'. The second part makes an arresting approach to the subject of family religion, treating it as essentially an adventure, undertaken with the help of a proper understanding of the Bible, of Christian teaching, and of the meaning of prayer. Although small in compass, this book is packed with sound material, presented in a fresh way. It is written in pleasing style, and lavishly garnished with apt and telling illustrations. Here there is both profitable reading for Christian parents and a challenge to those who acknowledge no allegiance to the Church.

DAVID R. MACE

Indian Village Health. By J. N. Norman-Walker. (Oxford Press. 4s.)

This excellent little book contains much valuable information in a concise and easily accessible form. It is based on the author's extensive experience as Director of the Medical and Public Health Department of Hyderabad State, and the efficacy of many of the measures described in the book has been demonstrated by the work of that Department in recent years. Apart from minor matters, two main criticisms may be made — first, that although the general principles of control and prevention of the chief tropical diseases are clearly stated, the absence of references to the modern uses of mepacrine, D.D.T., and the sulphonamides, renders certain paragraphs out of date; second, that many of the measures described have so far been

applied to the cities rather than to the villages of India (for instance, the statistics quoted to demonstrate the effectiveness of anti-malarial and anti-plague measures are taken from records for the city of Hyderabad), and it may be many years before similar results can be obtained under the more primitive conditions in villages, even though the general principles remain the same. Minor points of criticism are — that in the section on leprosy control the vital distinction between the infective and non-infective forms of the disease is not stressed; and in the section on clothing heavy topees and even 'back-pads' are recommended for the prevention of heat stroke, whereas recent experience shows that adequate fluid and salt intake is of far greater importance. The simple plans at the end of the book for village wells, latrines, clinics and markets are admirable, and should be of great value to the medical and social worker in village India.

ARTHUR SPEIGHT, M.B., CH.B., D.T.M.

The Methodist Church Builds Again. By E. Benson Perkins and Albert Hearn. (Epworth Press. 6s.)

In this recent publication the authors have produced a *real and practical aid* to one of the many problems of our time — the rebuilding and reconditioning of the churches much afflicted by the war conditions and affected by the changes of our day. The book is written from the 'Methodist' approach, and Ministers, Trustees and Chapel Building Committees will find in it a useful guide to their labours. This book, indeed, has a much wider sphere, for it could be used by all Nonconformist churches in their rebuilding schemes. The authors have dedicated the work to their immediate predecessors in office, William Humphrey and William Christopher Jackson, who did so much for church building under Methodist Union. *The Foreword* states the aims of the book. 'The building of the House of God is not to be undertaken lightly' expresses the spirit underlying its pages. The very fabric of a church is sacred and as such should be architecturally as beautiful as possible. In the book's compilation experienced architects have given generously of their knowledge and an eminent organist deals with the problems of the 'King of Instruments' now so adaptable to every need. In *Part One* a simple history of church architecture from Roman times to the present day is given, followed by a similar outline of the development of Methodist buildings from the days of the New Room at Bristol — the oldest Methodist church in the world — of which John Wesley laid the foundation stone in May 1739. A broadmindedness runs throughout the book. It recognizes that modern ideals must be realized, the needs of shifting populations supplied, new churches built in place of those now redundant, and many old ones modernized. The task of repairing 2,600 Methodist churches affected by war damage is tremendous, and 800 of these have been virtually destroyed. The new churches must be the best that is possible in the way of simple and beautiful design. *Part Two* is the practical application of *Part One*. Six sheets, showing architects' plans, elevations, etc., are excellently drawn and produced. They include a village church, a small church, ancillary buildings, a christian community centre, and a scheme for a central hall with chapel which can be adapted to meet individual requirements. In a chapter dealing with organs, specifications for two-manual and three-manual instruments are given. The position of choir and organ console, which is so important, is dealt with in *Part One*. The writer — himself a Methodist, an architect, and an organist — would prefer to see a handsome and well-designed organ-front rather than an ornamental grille (as the book suggests), hiding the organ pipes, even though the latter arrangement may assist the planning. Lack of space does not allow mention of more of the many details dealt with in this most useful book.

P. WILLMER POCKOCK, A.R.I.B.A.

Miracle. By G. R. Myers. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.)

All who are interested in the dramatic expression of religion will welcome this volume of three plays. The author's previous plays, *Amor Christi*, *Adeste Fideles*, and *Joseph*, have proved their value, and these three new ones will enhance his reputation and prove equally useful. *Miracle* is an Easter play, in three acts, for seven men and four women, which tells the story of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. The healing was indeed a miracle, but the play goes on to deal with the greatest miracle of all — the miracle of decision whereby everybody may receive the gift of the Holy Spirit and the joy of ministry in the name of Jesus. *Magi in Europe*, a one-act play for four men, two women and a child, deals with the Jewish problem. It won the second prize in the 1939-40 Play-writing Contest sponsored by the Religious Drama Council of New York and the Samuel French Prize. The author describes his story as 'poignant', and, indeed, short though it is, it fills the heart to overflowing, not least because it is executed with great restraint. *Poverty*, another one-act play, for seven men and two women, is adapted from René Bazin's story *The Fourth Beggar*. Its theme is the liberal Christ-like love which is the key to the Kingdom. All three plays are deeply moving, and the author knows how to quicken interest in a well-known theme by the introduction of some unexpectedly dramatic incident. Helpful notes on production and stage-setting are provided where necessary, and as the scene remains the same throughout each play the production is within the scope of meagrely equipped dramatic societies. The dialogue reads well on the whole, though one reader shuddered at the words 'nice' (p. 16), 'lady' (p. 47), and 'lovely' (p. 65). Again, when Mary says (p. 56), 'My Son always believed in Peter', is not the word 'believed' unfortunate? There is a grammatical error on p. 45. But these are details. The dust-cover justly describes the author as 'a talented playwright'. The book is beautifully produced and remarkably cheap.

ERIC PARSONS

Insects, Birds, Beasts and Humans. By James Herne. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

The author says he is an 'observationist' rather than a naturalist. Well, that places him in the fellowship of Fabre, Hudson, and Grey of Fallodon, for they too were observers first. Just to watch and observe Nature is a solace and a poignant joy to people who have the qualities patent in this book — a willingness to wonder, especially at very small things, and a friendliness that includes spiders, thrushes, foxes, and plants, as well as human beings. The book must have been a comfort to write; and to read it is a pleasure. Its excellent photographs add to its value.

C. L. JOHNSON

A Roving Recluse. By Peter F. Anson. (Mercier Press, Cork. 10s. 6d.)

This autobiography describes the career of a man who early slipped his Protestant moorings and entered upon a succession of monastic experiments, all of which speedily miscarried. It is the record, not so much of a spiritual pilgrimage, as of a series of religious trips. The writer significantly confesses that all the world seemed to him a stage, 'and all the men and women merely players'. Certainly, in his case, it is true enough that 'one man in his time plays many parts'. The book is not without psychological interest, depicting, as it does, the life-long conflict involved in trying to impose a communal regimen upon a violently individualistic nature. In a letter to Fr. Macdonald the writer said: 'There is a great deal wrong with me; much too much of Richard Anson, and almost nought of Brother Richard.' He passes swiftly through one monastery after another — *La Grande Trappe*, Manresa, Caldey, Prinknash, Quarr, Downside, Assisi, Monte Cassino, and others. In turn he is temporarily in training to be a Carthusian, a Benedictine, a Cistercian, a

Franciscan. His ecclesiastical superiors tempered their candour with extraordinary kindness and patience. 'Being called', he says, 'to the "abbatial presence", I was told kindly but firmly that I have not got a vocation.' 'It is over now, and I have finished with S. Benedict!' A chronic square peg in a round hole, he seems to extricate himself without much difficulty or embarrassment from his succession of misfits. Yet the note of tragedy is never sounded, in spite of the writer's persistent religious preoccupation, and there is little sign of the humility which is indispensable to a religious vocation — whether Catholic or Protestant. Peter Anson is a good deal of a neurotic, yet we may credit him with sincerity and the spirit of adventure. We congratulate the rover on having now found a more stable vocation at Harbour Head on the north-east coast of Scotland, where he functions in the *Apostolatus Maris*. It is evident that there is no acute paper shortage in South Ireland.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

Reformierte Schweiz is a monthly periodical (40 pp.), now in its third year of publication. It can be obtained from Zwingli-Verlag, Cramerstrasse 17, Zurich 4, at a cost of Fr. 2.30 per month or Fr. 20 per year, including postage. It is designed to interest the ordinary Church member and contains articles on the work of the Church in many lands, as well as occasional articles of somewhat wider scope. It is also well furnished with pictorial illustrations. Sometimes articles are devoted to a special subject, e.g. The Training of Christian Teachers, Deaconesses, and The Care of Neglected and Orphan Children. These always have a practical aim. The February number is of particular interest. It begins with a poignant account of conditions in South Germany. There follows a most readable article on Martin Luther and his significance for the past and present. Next there is a well-documented account of the growing might of the Roman Church in U.S.A., and finally the Diary of the Swiss Representative to the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. After reading almost every word of the first three 1946 numbers I would say that it would be difficult to find a more suitable periodical for anyone who wishes to keep up his German and to learn of the work of the Church from the Evangelical point of view.

PERCY SCOTT

Judaica. (Zwingli-Verlag, Zurich. 20 Swiss Francs per copy.)

The Society of the Friends of Israel, originally founded in 1830, and having its headquarters in Basle, has recently launched a monthly review in German to be known as *Judaica*. A sub-title describes it as containing 'contributions to the understanding of the Jewish problem in the past and present'. The magazine is a well-printed volume of some ninety pages, including an illustrated supplement. The purpose of the Society is to interpret to Christians 'the way of God with Israel according to the Scriptures' and 'to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Jews'. It is the intention of the editors that the name *Judaica* should be understood as relating not merely to the study of the later developments of Judaism, but also of the unprecedented sufferings of the 'chosen people' which, in their judgement, constitute the basic need for the presentation of the Gospel to the Jews. The articles, which are naturally in keeping with this purpose, are the work of experts and should be of value to the British reader who is interested in missions to Jews. There is no comparable publication in this country.

WILLIAM W. SIMPSON

Revue Biblique, Année 1946, No. 1. (Librairie Victor Lecozze, Rue Buonaparte, 9a, Paris, 540 francs *per annum*).

This Benedictine review makes a welcome reappearance under its old title and format. In *Sénèque et St. Paul* Fr. Pierre Benoit describes an apocryphal account of a

correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul which circulated widely in the Middle Ages and led to the belief that Seneca was converted to Christianity. After examining the evidence Fr. Benoit concludes that Seneca knew nothing of the new faith. The last part of the article compares the thought of Seneca with that of St. Paul and shows the transcendence of the Christian view. In a study of the Parables M. L. Baudiment maintains that each of them was meant to teach only one lesson. Fr. G. Spicq writes on the Evangelical Origins of Episcopal Virtues. Other articles are concerned with recent excavations in Palestine and neighbouring lands. The reviews include one on a study of the Psalms (in Italian) by Fr. R. G. Castellino.

H. HOGARTH

Erratum. We regret to state that the price of Dr. M. J. Elsas's *Housing before the War and After* (Staples Press) was wrongly given in our January number. It is not 17s. 6d. but 7s. 6d.

From My New Shelf

BY C. RYDER SMITH

The Old Testament in the New Testament. By R. V. G. Tasker. (S.C.M. 6s.)

For a generation and more scholars have been taking the Bible to pieces, but now they begin to treat each Testament, and even the two Testaments, as wholes. In this book Professor Tasker introduces his readers to the right way of relating the New to the Old. It is not possible to go back to all the ways of our fathers. Broadly speaking, procedure by 'proof passages' has been abandoned for the tracing of the continuity of ideas. Professor Tasker uses this method first for one part of the New Testament and then for another. In so doing he wisely introduces not a little exposition. In New Testament times readers of the Old Testament, as Philo abundantly shows, found in many passages more than one meaning — the literal and at least one other. The latter was sometimes reached by the 'allegorical' method. In one passage Paul tells us that he is using it (Galatians iv. 24). But generally 'symbolic' is a better word than 'allegorical'. Best of all, appeal was often made, as in our Lord's references to the Old Testament, to some eternal principle foreshadowed in an Old Testament passage. The new method requires study, and different students will not always agree about particular passages. There are quite a number of instances, for example, where I should not altogether agree with Professor Tasker. But he is an admirable teacher of the method, and, when once it is understood, any Bible student may apply it for himself. Professor Tasker shows from many a text how the minds of the New Testament writers were steeped in Old Testament thought, and how, without some knowledge of this, their meaning cannot be fully grasped. This book will persuade any candid mind that the Bible is an organic whole.

Grace. By Joseph Barker. (Dacre Press. 3s.)

This is one of a new series called the 'Mirfield Books'. The series is sponsored by the Community of the Resurrection, and in a foreword the Superior of the Community recalls the famous *Tracts for the Times* of a hundred years ago. To judge by this volume, the series is meant for the ordinary Christian and not for experts. There are a few passages, chiefly about the (apparently seven) Sacraments, with which an Evangelical would not agree, and there are a few sentences which might, perhaps, have been better expressed — e.g. 'Others have been more heroic (than our Lord)', and 'We are not to suppose that we all shall become saints' — but for far the most part the Evangelical will say 'Amen' to what this Anglo-Catholic writes. For instance, there is a warning against the 'mechanical idea of grace'. Here it is defined, not as 'a certain supernatural something', as in a famous definition derived from the

Middle Ages, but as the 'love' of the triune God. The writer, who shows himself well acquainted both with the history of theology and its modern phase, adopts the co-operant account of grace and faith (perhaps with a little too much emphasis on human 'effort'), thereby repudiating both the doctrine of 'salvation by merit' and of 'irresistible grace'. Here there is today something approaching a *consensus*. The last chapter, on 'Sanctification', is perhaps the most valuable. This book is not the only sign that, while attempts at reunion seem in other ways to have reached an *impasse* at present, on the great doctrine of grace real progress has been made toward agreement. There are one or two misprints, as in some other of the books reviewed here, but no doubt we must put this down to Hitler's account.

Religious Liberty, An Enquiry. By M. Searle Bates. (International Missionary Council.)

It was more than time for such an 'inquiry' as this. In U.S.A. there is a Joint Committee on Religious Liberty, representing the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference. After exploring the subject a good deal the Joint Committee had the wisdom to entrust the writing of a book on Religious Liberty to one man, and it chose the right man — a Professor of History in Nanking University. Professor Searle has gathered very many eggs into his basket, but he made the basket. Just about half the book states the facts, first of the present and then of the past, while the other half has for headings 'What is Religious Liberty?', 'The Grounds of Religious Liberty', 'Religious Liberty in Law', and 'Conclusions and Proposals'. The book is likely to be authoritative on its subject for this generation. The writer lets everyone speak for himself (and the documentation is immense), but this is a book, not a catalogue. One might perhaps have expected some mention of the Mormons, and the struggles between Sunni and Shiah in Islam were much more serious than Professor Searle suggests. Note might have been taken of the toleration practised in the Khazar realm, the only independent Jewish state since Roman times. Again, it is at least doubtful whether the pragmatic reasons given for religious toleration by the State would apply *in toto* to any faith but Christianity. But these are slight *caveats*. The book is remarkable alike for its range, its sanity, and its lucidity. The difficulties, both in theory and practice, that throng around the subject are all laid out. Some surprises will await some readers. For instance, the original Constitution of the United States left religious liberty on one side. Of all the churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the English-speaking world the Baptist Church had easily the best record. Professor Bates is careful to do justice to the Roman Catholic position. Quite consistently it claims liberty where it is in a minority and refuses it where it is dominant, for its principle is 'Freedom for the truth and destruction to error' — and it is quite sure that it holds the truth. The Protestant has learnt that 'the weapons of [this] warfare are not carnal', but, if he is loyal to his faith, he is no 'indifferentist' but utterly intolerant of error. There are some signs that in Roman Catholicism there is at last a movement toward the same position. For any who naively think that 'religious liberty' is a simple concept and easy to practise, the book will bring surprises indeed. 'Liberty to *think* what one likes?' — in education? 'Liberty to *say* what one likes?' — in pulpit and street and newspaper and wireless propaganda? — even to the point of slander and indecency and untruth? 'Liberty to *do* what one likes?' — in an army or a trade union or a football team? Professor Searle has made a clear plan of a labyrinth. His book has six hundred lordly pages. Would it were bound!

The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers. By Rupert E. Davies. (Epworth Press. 12s. 6d.)

'All authority hath been given unto Me', said our Risen Lord — and all Christians

admit the claim. But the question inevitably arises, 'How do we know what Christ commands? What is the organ of His authority?' The question is always with us whether we know it or not. At the time of the Reformation controversy raged about it, for both sides saw it to be fundamental. The Romanists claimed that it is through the Church that Christ exercises His authority. 'No,' said the Reformers, 'it is through the Bible.' Mr. Davies has done us a very necessary service and done it thoroughly. He takes the three greatest Reformers — Luther, Zwingli, Calvin — in turn, and subjects their appeal to Scripture to a patient and comprehensive scrutiny. He knows all the primary documents, and very many of the secondary ones. He is no partisan but a calm investigator. One is glad to see Zwingli in his list, for that Reformer hardly gets his due in England. One wishes he had been mentioned in the final summary. Mr. Davies shows that, while all three leaders appealed to the Bible against the Church, each had his own emphasis. Luther, in the last analysis, appealed not to the whole Bible, but to the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, for it was through these that he himself had heard Christ speak. Zwingli, claiming that there is often need to interpret one passage by another, gave a larger place to reason than Luther, and found, besides, that the ultimate acceptance of authority rests on faith. Calvin, with his doctrine of the 'Witness of the Spirit' (not, as with Wesley, a witness to the experience of salvation, but to the truth of the Scriptures), made also a distinctive contribution. But, having ended his exposition, Mr. Davies finds that the verdict on all three Reformers must be 'Not proven' — and there is no doubt that he is right. It is well that Protestants should candidly admit this.

Does this mean that the Reformers were wrong and the Romanists right in the sixteenth century? By no means. The Scriptures were a far better guide to the 'mind of Christ' than the accumulated teachings and traditions of the Church of those days. But the disputants shared certain convictions that were mistaken. For instance, they disputed hotly and long about the question 'Did the Church come before the Bible or the Bible before the Church?' This was just about as vain a question as 'Which foot comes first in walking?' Again, they agreed that there must be one, final, infallible authority. The assumption is wrong under every one of the three adjectives. 'Authority' in Christianity is a complex thing. Moreover, here as elsewhere, 'probability is the guide of life'. Or again, the disputants both sought to expel the 'subjective' from the doctrine of authority. It is probably impossible to give any definition of the term that does not, however silently, imply both something 'subjective' and something 'objective'. Does not the word require that there is one who commands and one who obeys — and must not the latter make up his mind to obey? As is hinted above, Mr. Davies shows that in all three Reformers' doctrines something 'subjective' was implied. Of course it is the same when a Catholic says, 'I submit myself to the Church'. As these things among others show, the problems of authority are still with us. They are clamant today outside the realm of the Church's own life. In the last twenty years we have heard several voices crying, 'All authority is mine', and these voices are not yet all silent. In face of this challenge all Christendom unites in defiance.

Melanchthon: Alien or Ally? By Franz Hildebrandt. (Cambridge Press. 8s. 6d.)

Melanchthon, says Pastor Hildebrandt, was 'the only humanist with whom (Luther) came to terms', and he means by 'humanist' a scholar who, like Aquinas, was willing to allow the thought of Greece and Rome a place in Christian theology. He shows that Melanchthon has proved a 'stronger influence (than "Magister Martinus") in shaping the history of Lutheranism'. In this book, omitting Melanchthon's synergism and sacramental doctrine since Lutheranism rejected these, he treats of the 'concessions' that Melanchthon, unlike Luther, made to

Tradition', to 'Reason' (both in Natural and 'Pure' theology), to 'Law' (both as the schoolmaster' that leads to Christ and as regulative for Christians themselves), to 'Power' (alike in State and Church), and to 'Opposition' (both in things 'indifferent' and in things fundamental). Under the last subject Church reunion comes into view. Throughout the book the writer has in mind both the present plight of the Protestant Churches in Germany and the present position of religion in England. His book is no mere academic exposition. At first by hints in passing, and later by sustained argument, he shows the relevance of Melancthon's 'concessions' today. He gives manifold quotations, largely in the original Latin (and occasionally Greek), but he is careful to give the gist of their meaning in his English context. By this means he recaptures something of the atmosphere of sixteenth-century controversy without perplexing an English reader. Pastor Hildebrandt has a vigorous and sometimes lively style. For instance, he pokes fun at Barth, marvels at the incomprehensible 'comprehensiveness' of the Anglican Church, and borrows a phrase from a hymn to label Wesley's perfectionism a 'short cut'. He has, indeed, 'passed the time of his sojourning' among us with his eyes and ears open. Twice he draws an extended comparison between Melancthon and Wesley — and the comparison could be carried farther. His English is well-nigh impeccable. One of his most interesting passages shows that it is to Melancthon, and not to Luther, that Lutheranism owes its long subservience to the State. The problems of Protestantism have not changed. There have been 'piping times' when they were left largely to theorists, but now they are upon us again in their ancient urgency. While Pastor Hildebrandt rarely leaves his readers in doubt about his own mind, he sets himself, not to solve these problems, but to show how history illuminates them. This is a great service, for can one hope to solve a problem without first understanding it? In particular, here is the historical key to the woes and hopes of the Church in Germany now.

John Henry Newman: *Centenary Essays*. By Henry Tristram and Others. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 10s. 6d.)

One of the essayists in this book writes: 'Catholics and non-Catholics alike have hailed (Newman) as the greatest genius of Christianity since Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.' Well, there is no denying that, if a man's influence be the measure of his greatness, Newman was a great man. The occasion of the writing of this volume was the centenary of his reception into the Roman Church. Fr. Tristram, in an introduction, tells us that the ten contributors, who are not all Catholics, each chose his own subject. There is very little over-lapping, however, and, without giving the long list of names, it is enough to say that each essayist is master of his theme. The topics are well chosen, though not always happily named, and we see this many-sided man under most of his chief aspects. There is little, however, about the *Grammar of Assent*. One could wish too that there had been an essay on Newman's own poetry instead of about his essay on poetry. While his controversy with Jager will only interest specialists, all the other essays will be very welcome to a wide circle. Perhaps it was right that in an essay on 'The Sentimental Myth' there should not be as much as mention of Lytton Strachey! One of the merits of the book is its candid account of the troubles that beset Newman after he turned to Rome. All the essays are fully documented, and there is a very useful account of Newman's own writings and books about him. For myself I found the studies of 'Cardinal Newman and Dean Church' and of Newman's teaching on the nature of society, with its doctrine of development, especially interesting. The book suggests many thoughts. For instance, we are told that when Thackeray has attended a lecture of Newman's on 'the Difficulties of Anglicans', delivered soon after he took the final step Rome-wards, the novelist said: 'It is either Rome or Babylon, and for me it is Babylon.' If the remark be taken with

a necessary grain of salt, is there not here the truth? For Newman at long last it was either infallibility or despair. Did he ever dare to give himself complete liberty of thought? Again, there is a saying of Newman's own, quoted more than once. He said that he could not 'rest' except 'in the thought of two, and two only, supreme and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator'. There might be question of the meaning of four of the terms here, but the meaning is plain enough. Like all the saints, Newman could never get away from the challenge of God, and like many of them, he fought his battle almost entirely alone. This man, who influenced others so greatly, knew little of the influence of any living man. This was one reason why, after his 'reception', he found his new associates aloof. Another was the subtlety of his mind and argument. But the quotation, as already implied, leads to the greatest truth about Newman — he was a saint. There are essays of insight here about his devotional life and the spiritual strength of his preaching. He disliked controversy, yet he found it hard to resist a challenge. So pamphlet followed pamphlet. In consequence his friends could watch his lonely pilgrimage step by step. Some followed part of the way, and some all the way, while some did not follow at all, but every one of them bore witness to the dire sincerity of every step. Newman was a rare kind of saint — his mind was both subtle and sincere.

Free Minds: John Morley and His Friends. By Frances W. Knickerbocker. (Oxford Press. 16s. 6d.)

Here is another book by an American about a piece of English history. Mrs. Knickerbocker, however, has not chosen to poke into a dusty corner, but to study the writings of a man who lived in the public eye. I say 'the writings', for, while there are three chapters of prelude and two of sequel, the core of the book is a study of Morley's writings in the quarter of a century from about 1860 to 1885 — that is, from the time when he left Oxford to his entry into Parliament. 'His friends' are Frederic Harrison and Leslie Stephen, but only so much is told of them as illumines Morley's life, and, indeed, there is as much about Mill as about them, and almost as much about Meredith. Of course, Chamberlain too comes in, and George Eliot, and Gladstone, and so on. Yet the three whom the writer puts together had this in common — they all came from Nonconformist homes of the Middle Classes, and they all forsook the theology of their fathers for a kind of 'religion of morality' whose chief tenets were a belief in liberty and in the 'love of my neighbour', especially if he were an under-dog. Mrs. Knickerbocker does justice, on the whole, to the Evangelical home, for she knows that it was neither dull nor sombre nor drab (though it is not true that the Methodists ever thought of 'poverty as a sin'). Morley 'kept' in the same rooms as Wesley at Lincoln College — and it was there that his Evangelical faith fell finally away! The crucial twenty-five years began with his editing of the *Fortnightly Review*. Its policy, among other things, was to attack, in *signal* articles (a new practice), anything and everything that denied men their full liberty, whether it were ecclesiastical or political or social. There is no doubt that the magazine made 'no end of a stir'; Mrs. Knickerbocker even puts it alongside the *Encyclopaedia* of eighteenth-century France. She shows how great an influence Voltaire and Rousseau and the rest had on Morley and how he interpreted their real teachings to the English public. Then there was Burke, and with him Comte, with their belief in 'the sequences of causes and effects' in history. Indirectly the book is a complete answer to the current and ignorant idea that the characteristic men of the nineteenth century were all mere products of a period of plutocratic predominance with an irritating belief in the inevitability of progress. This fully-documented book is a well-written and thorough study. Morley is clearly a hero of the writer's, but not an idol. She knows that he sometimes changed and that he made mistakes. She deals

with each of his writings as each emerged in the story. It would have been well if she had added a critical and integrated account of his final faith. Why does she call people like Maurice and Martineau 'agnostic clergy'?

India, a Re-statement. By Sir Reginald Coupland. (Oxford Press. 12s. 6d.)

In India politics and religion are indissolubly bound together, but, while many competent writers have dealt primarily with her religion, few have taken her politics for their chief subject. Professor Coupland, having written a *Report on the Constitutional Problem* in three volumes, has now followed it with a welcome account of the political situation in a single volume, with the 'general reader' in his eye. First, there is a brief but masterly review of the past, beginning with a comparison between the two peninsulas called Europe and India as they were some three thousand years ago. One of the merits of Sir Reginald's book is that he sets India throughout in the context of world affairs. In the first chapter there is a puzzling reference to 'two large islands' off the Indian coast. Ceylon is one, but what is the other? Some will demur, too, to the description of Sikhism as 'a kind of Hindu Puritanism', and it is not strictly true that no Hindu can 'marry a member of another caste' — but can any general statement be made about Hinduism that does not need some qualification? Professor Coupland brings out clearly the fact that Islam came to India as a master, a truth very relevant today, but he quickly reaches the story of the arrival of Europeans from the sea. Here he shows that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the question was not 'Shall the British rule?' but 'Shall the British or the French rule?' With scrupulous fairness he goes on to lay out the benefits and banes that Britain has brought to India. He does not palliate the latter. For instance, he does not spare the 'nabobs' who flourished after Plassey. But — perhaps in silent protest against one or two recent books — he shows that the dominant idea in England from first to last has been that India, as well as England, should benefit from their strange but intimate connexion. The last three-quarters of the book are given to 'The Process of Liberation' and 'The Future of India'. Under the first of these subjects Professor Coupland shows that early in the last century British statesmen began to anticipate without reluctance the future autonomy of India. He gives, however, very much of his space to the political story since the rise of the Indian Congress, and most of all to a very clear and detailed account of the kaleidoscopic changes since 1917. Here, of course, Mr. Gandhi plays the leading part. Professor Coupland does him full justice, but he cannot hide his conviction that the Mahatma's influence has, on the whole, hindered rather than helped India's advance to self-determination. Here, too, we get a very interesting and adequate study of the Indian type of the new political doctrine that has swept over so much of the world — with its twin ideas that a Party should control government and a Leader control the Party. Professor Coupland brings the story down to September 1945. He discusses the question 'What is now to be done?' with fullness and acumen. He blinks no difficulty, but he does not despair. In his three-volume *Report* he made a constructive suggestion, working it out with some detail — that India should be divided, following her geography, into four regions, three of them including the basins of the three great rivers (the Ganges, the Indus, and the Brahmaputra), with the Deccan for the fourth. In this book he modestly confines this to a footnote. Since he wrote, however, his plan has won much attention in Delhi. He ends the volume with a collection of useful reprints of 'documents'. There is no need to say that Professor Coupland gives 'chapter and verse' for all his statements. Whatever may be the outcome of the present Government's endeavours to 'find a solution', this book will furnish a very serviceable account of the background of the new picture.

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

Dr. A. J. Macdonald, in his *Episcopi Vagantes in Church History* (S.P.C.K., 1s.), gives us a very interesting and accurate account of a phenomenon that has persisted in varying ways through sixteen centuries. While the fundamental ground of the phenomenon was the belief, 'Once a bishop, always a bishop', the occasions of the emergence of 'wandering' bishops were various — heresy, for instance, and Saracenic invasion and the peculiarities of the ancient Irish Church and the vicissitudes of bishops in Reformation politics. With the *vagantes* there go the *titulares* and such-like. They have sometimes been a boon but usually a bane. Dr. Macdonald might have added the queer story of Wesley and Bishop Erasmus — and what of the non-juror Bishops and of Father Ignatius? . . . 'I found myself faced with the task of answering over two thousand letters from people who asked that their loved ones should be prayed for', writes Leslie D. Weatherhead in *Healing through Prayer* (Epworth Press, 11s.). A good many Christians will 'say in their hearts, "Tush!"', but let them read the booklet. Giving case after case, Mr. Weatherhead claims neither too much nor too little. His booklet begins a series entitled 'Spiritual Healing Booklets', sponsored by the Methodist Conference Committee on the subject. . . . 'There was a famous highwayman who roamed the countryside' is the beginning of one of the rhymes in Vera E. Walker's *A Rhyme Book of Christian Men* (S.C.M., 3s.). Guess who he was! This booklet would make a good gift to a child. It ranges Church History from Peter to Livingstone, and for every hero Claire Oldham furnishes a wood-cut. The rhymes rightly concentrate upon the best thing that each hero did. All the larger churches have their man. . . . About 1790 William Tuke, a York Quaker, had a 'concern' about the mentally deficient. In consequence 'the Retreat' was founded and it continues to this day. The story is told in *Light through the Cloud*, by L. A. G. Strong (Friends Book Centre, 5s.). The institution has kept abreast of the times except where it has been before them, but from first to last it has been a *home*. Could a huge County Asylum somehow be turned into a set of homes? . . . Like other serious Christians the Baptists are asking 'Where are we now?' and 'What shall we do about it?' Henry Cook has drawn together the findings of a group appointed by the Baptist Union Council, under the title: *Speak — that they Go Forward* (Kingsgate Press, 3d.). One of its merits is candour. . . . The so-called 'Assyrians' were the smallest but among the bravest of the Allies in both World Wars. They are the fragment of Christians who still speak the tongue that Jesus spoke. In *Whither Christian Missions?* (Kimball Press, Fair Lawn, New Jersey, U.S.A.) David Barsum Perley tells the sad story of their sufferings between the two wars. His booklet is a well-documented reply to an American defence of the Arabs, but it is a stern indictment of Britain as well as Iraq. Is there an answer? . . . In *Songs of Faith* (Oxford Press, 3s. 6d.) Canon G. W. Briggs has gathered almost fifty of his hymns and similar pieces. Two of them are in the *Methodist Hymn-book*. Many of them will prove specially helpful to Christians who find it hard to 'walk and not faint'. . . . For some time now a number of Baptist churches have been using 'Services for the Dedication of Children' (or, rather, of Parents). Mr. R. L. Child has asked and answered the question 'What meaneth this?' in *The Blessing of Infants and the Dedication of Parents* (Kingsgate Press, 6d.). Many Methodists will find that it displays much of what they mean by Infant Baptism, but why not recognize the truth that the Holy Spirit begins His work in very young children? . . . Mr. Victor Gollancz is a salutary gadfly. His *Leaving them to their Fate* (Gollancz, 6d.) tells the terrible truth about the starving in Germany. A large part of what he suggests is now being done, but he would add bread-rationing, for instance — and he makes a strong case for it. . . . Miss Sylvia Pandhurst pursues her crusade for Ethiopia in *The Ethiopian People: Their Rights and Progress* (Ethiopian Information Office, Woodford, Essex, 2s. 6d.). She has collected much material but her statements under such

captions as 'The Ethiopians are one People' and 'Ethiopia qualified to Administer Eritrea and Somalia' are quite inadequate (and she says 'The Jewish faith was adopted in the time of King Solomon!'). . . . In the *Lordship of Christ* (Independent Press, 1s.) four Congregational Ministers distil the spiritual essence of Congregationalism in twelve ten-minute talks, delivered in several small Lancashire churches. . . . This year's Essex Lecture has been delivered by Professor L. J. van Holk, of Leyden. Under the title *Foreign Occupation as an Ethical Problem* (Lindsey Press, 1s.) he gives a sober analysis of his country's moral gain and loss under the Germans. For the future he largely trusts, under God, to 'the innate regenerative faculties of the human soul'. . . . What now about Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania? In *Russia's Trade and the Baltic Sea* (Boreas Company, 2s. 9d.) an Estonian economist, Mr. H. E. Ronimoi, has drawn up a full factual statement to show that now Russia neither uses nor needs the Baltic ports as she once did. . . . Mrs. Beatrice Levertoff has provided us with an excellent 'panorama drawing' of *Jerusalem in the Time of Christ* (S.P.C.K., 2s.). It is large enough for use on a black-board. There is a careful topographical note about each of the principal sites, the writer not omitting to tell the reader when they are only traditional or conjectural. . . . In *Didsbury College* (Ministerial Training Committee, 1, Central Buildings, S.W.1, 1s. 1d. post free) the Principal marks the transit of 'Dids' from Manchester to Bristol. As one reads Mr. Brash's skilful pages one 'glimpses' the Shades of the Wesleys as they welcome the brethren from the North. There is also a plan and account of the new estate.

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

- Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, February (Manchester University Press, 2s. 6d.).
 The Character of the Gospel Record. By C. J. Cadoux.
 A Hitherto Un-noticed Biblical MS. (in Middle English). By F. Harrison.
 The Maintenance of English University Clerics in the Later Middle Ages. By Ernest F. Jacob.
 The Unity of the Old Testament. By Harold H. Rowley.
 The Psychology of Togetherness. By H. Bompas Smith.
 The Life of Jesus: A survey of the Material — (4) The First Gospel. By T. W. Manson.
Religion in Life, Spring (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via Epworth Press, \$1.05).
 The Making of the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament. By Luther A. Weigle.
 The Revised Standard Version of the New Testament. By Raymond P. Morris.
 Britain's New Direction in Government. By Cecil Northcott.
 South of the Rio Grande. By E. Sheffield Brightman.
 The Maladjusted and Salvation. By Hazen G. Werner.
 Conquest, Reconquest, and the Aftermath in the Philippines. By Don Wendel Holter.
 The Old Testament and the Christian Preacher Today. By Samuel L. Terrien.
 'Whom God hath Joined Together'. By R. Hoffman Hamill.
The Moslem World, April (Hartford Seminary, via Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 2s.).
 Blaise Pascal on Mohammed. By Emile Cailliet.
 Al-Ghazali's Works. By R. A. Blasdel.
 Freewill and Predestination in Islam. By William M. Watt.
 Muhammad 'Abduh the Reformer. By Osman Amin.
 Yunus Emre. By Bar Burhan Tobrak.
The Journal of Religion, January (University of Chicago, via Cambridge Press, \$1.25).
 Caspar Schwenckfeld. By Joachim Wach.
 Faith versus Belief. By Fritz Marti.

- Religious Life in Germany. By F. Siegmund-Schultze.
 The Religious Situation in Great Britain. By Nathaniel Micklem.
The Harvard Theological Review, October (Harvard University Press, via Oxford Press, \$1).
 A New Document and the Last Pagan Revival in the West. By Herbert Bloch.
 The Coverdale Translation of Psalm 84. By Edgar R. Smothers.
The International Review of Missions, April (Oxford Press, 3s.).
 Christianity in Japan. By Luman J. Shafer.
 China and India Look Ahead. By J. W. Decker.
 Christians and India's National Destiny. By Chandran Devanesen.
 Economic Planning in India. By E. C. Bhatta.
 Religious Liberty in China. By M. Searle Bates.
 The Christian Church and Demobilization in Africa. By Andrew B. Doig.
 The Missionary on the East African Coast. By Lyndon Harries.
 Worship in Protestant Missions. By G. Parrinder.
The Yale Review, Spring (Yale University Press, via Oxford Press, \$1).
 Medical Services of the Future. By Thomas Parran.
 American Security and the Atomic Bomb. By Bernard Brodie.
 The Life of Boswell. By Frederick A. Pottle.
 In Ophelia's Closet. By Harold Goddard.
 Are We Ready for a World State? By Edward R. Lewis.
 Czechoslovakia's Reconstruction. By Joseph Wechsberg.
 Oklahoma. By George Milburn.
Studies in Philology, January (University of North Carolina Press, via Cambridge Press, \$1.25).
 A Note on the Classical Origin of 'Circumstances' in the Medieval Confessional. By D. W. Robertson, Jun.
 A Note on Chaucer's Use of Aristotelian Psychology. By Marshall W. Stearns.
 Roister Doister's 'Funerals'. By E. S. Miller.
 Macaulay and Espinasse. By W. D. Templeman.
 The Language of the Poet. By Helmut A. Hatzfeld.
The Expository Times, April (T. & T. Clark 1s.).
 Public Pronouncement and Private Explanation in the Gospels. By David Daube.
 The *Quicunque Vult*. By L. Hughes.
ditto, May.
 Towards the Conversion of England: The Situation before the Church. By H. G. G. Harklots.
 'A Boy's Voice Flowering' (the Poetry of Sidney Keyes). By Ronald W. Thomson.
 Displacements in the Fourth Gospel. By F. J. Brown.
ditto, June.
 Towards the Conversion of England: The Clergy and Evangelism. By C. M. Chavasse.
 Ecstasy in Scandinavian Christianity. By Joh. Lindblom.
The Presbyter, February (J. Clarke, 1s.).
 Myth and Fact: i. The Waters of Creation. By F. Buchanan.
 Baptists and the Future. By 'A Baptist'.
 The Reformers Reformed: Knox on Predestination. By A. N. Prior.

Editorial Comments

OTTO DIBELIUS ON GERMAN CHRISTIANS AND A NEW GERMAN STATE

THE position of Dr. Otto Dibelius as leader of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations in Berlin, and his general acceptance by the German Protestants in the Russian Zone make his pronouncements of great importance just now. For many years Nazi hostility limited his activities, but he is now able to speak freely and the effect of his words is already considerable. His outspoken criticism of public morals, and his appeals for a higher standard of social ethics and a more clearly defined relationship between Church and State are hopeful signs of a new vitality in German Christianity. During the last few months, he has outlined what he and many leaders of the Protestant Churches in Eastern Germany consider to be the duties of German Christians today. In a sermon preached on 28th April, 1946 he summarized certain of these findings. We are indebted to the Rev. Dr. H. H. Kramm for the substance of his statement. The German tendency to go to extremes has always created a problem. Excessive individualism, on the one hand, and slavish obedience on the other are in Germany consequences of the abandonment of the Christian principle of human dignity and social responsibility. 'It is a fact', says Dibelius, 'that hardly any other nation finds it so difficult to strike the right balance between freedom and obligation.' To redress social injustice by illegal robbery is to create new injustices. 'No arbitrary spoliation of an individual or a class or a profession or a race or a party is compatible with the will of God, who Himself is Love.' These words from so great a German leader are significant of the revival of Christianity in Germany.

In stressing the importance of healthy family life Dr. Dibelius points out the need for the security of property — 'property that has been honestly earned'. Without it normal family life seems to be impossible. The final responsibility for the education of the children lies with the parents and not with the State, though the latter should provide all possible assistance. Uniform State schools, in the opinion of Dr. Dibelius, are used in Germany to foster party doctrine. He pleads that in the new Germany, there shall be freedom for Christian teachers and parents to bring the spirit of Christianity into education.

On the problem of labour he makes it clear that man is a living soul — not merely a working animal. Capitalism, forced labour, and concentration camps are criticized because work exists for man, not man for work.

If one compares this attitude to education and to labour with the words of Ley and Rosenberg one dares to look to the future with new hope. The school text-books themselves may even contain something of the principles of Jesus and nothing of 'red-blooded Thor' so often extolled by Rosenberg in manuals used by small children. The vicious cartoons introduced into the most elementary primers to incite small children to anti-Semitic outbursts have been destroyed and if Germany listens to Dr. Dibelius and those whom he represents propaganda will no longer be mistaken for truth, and the tragedy of the concentration camp and slave-labour will never be repeated.

In a moving appeal for the freedom in which a Christian spirit may be developed, Dibelius strongly repudiates every kind of totalitarian State. 'The dictatorship of a totalitarian State', he says, 'is incompatible with the will of God. . . . The form of government under which people live must allow for a considerable amount of freedom for the individual.' It is interesting to notice that in considering this part of the whole problem Dibelius urges the Church to resist the housing of families in large blocks of flats, and to advocate small houses and gardens, 'where family life can develop freely'.

Turning to the present situation he speaks to the German people and to the Allies. He is primarily 'calling Germany to God'. That phrase is the one he himself uses, and first, therefore, he bids his own people remember that life consists 'not only of personal and private affairs, but is to a large extent life in the community. What schools are established in our country, what measures are taken against starvation, what taxation laws are made, what newspapers published, what aims proclaimed by the different parties, what is done to prevent the continuation of the national socialist spirit, how our trains are to be rebuilt — all this and a thousand other things profoundly affect the fate of the individual and are subject to God's commandments just as much as are our actions as private individuals.' Respectfully but courageously he reviews present policy in Germany, and emphasizes the fact that Christian aims cannot be attained by people who live under the constant threat of starvation. This must be removed and if the Allies can solve this problem they will help the German Church to call Germany back to God. It is a weakness in the German character that the nation as a whole fails to acknowledge honest motives in an adversary. Dibelius is quite frank about this matter, and his candour commands our respect. He feels — and most honest men must agree with him — that the intelligent and sympathetic treatment of Germans by the Christians of other lands would go a long way toward helping them to overcome their suspicions and to draw near to God.

There is nothing sentimental or unworthy about this appeal. It is made with a deep consciousness of the position of the German people, but with dignity and courage. Indirectly the call of Dibelius to the Germans is also a call to Christians everywhere. The wounds of yesterday cannot be healed in a night. It is not easy to forget, but there is a Christian way of remembering and looking toward tomorrow! That is what Dibelius seems to ask of a people who have wandered far from God and of the peoples who overthrow their false leaders and now stand on the threshold of peace.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL TENSIONS — AN AMERICAN VIEW

Conceptions of the meaning of Democracy differ so greatly as to be almost contradictory. It is not long since a distinguished American educationist told the writer that Britain was too democratic! This seemed, at first, an astonishing statement from one whose life has been given to the close study of the development of the constitution of the United States of America — so often described as the greatest democracy in the world. The judgement can be better understood in the light of an official statement on social ideas recently issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It pointed out that the

Churches, as investors of funds and employers of labour, had an opportunity of demonstrating the Christian ethic at vital points in the economic order. Their comparative freedom from competition and from the heavier burdens of taxation should encourage them to accept leadership in matters of investment and employment. Their stewardship should involve the exercise of the Christian conscience in their consideration of the character of the economic undertakings in which they invest their money. Wages, hours, holidays, and relationship between employer and employed must reach a satisfactory standard. The extension of co-operative techniques is to be encouraged, says the statement. Employment at a fair wage has become a basic right. 'We reaffirm labour's right to strike, and we recognize the long-term benefits which the acknowledgment of this right has brought both to labour and the public. But we urge the moral obligation that rests upon labour and management always to enter into and carry on collective bargaining in good faith, and to utilize fully such methods of settlement as conciliation, mediation, and arbitrations. Furthermore, added democratic proceedings should be established whereby the essential interests of labour, management, investors, and consumers may be better safeguarded.'

This frank statement was followed in September by a 'Message' issued by the Industrial Relations Division, and approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It was intended to be read to the congregations on Labour Sunday and provides not only a commentary on recent labour troubles but also an indication of the concern felt by the Churches for the well-being of the workers. The courage and candour of the 'Message' is encouraging to those who fear spiritual isolationism even more than its political counterpart. For that reason we publish the text of the message in full:

On Labour Sunday the depth of human suffering in many lands must oppress the Christian conscience with particular force. In the true Christian community all persons and peoples are members one of another under the searching judgement of One who is Sovereign, and beneath the tender care of a Father who is God. An ill-clad body protests every idle machine. A homeless or poorly housed family pulls at the sinews of every idle hand. A slave worker anywhere jeopardizes the rights of all free men.

In our own country the storms of war were a distant rumbling. In consequence we are left strong and prosperous beyond compare, but in the agony of the world we are threatened by a new spiritual isolation — the hardening of our hearts against humanity's pain. From our fields and hands and machines might come a flow of food and tools for the rebuilding of all nations. From our spirits might rise a greater sense of world fellowship and a passion for freedom which will embrace all men.

We shall not meet our obligations to the world unless we meet them to each other in our own land. The unity of work and purpose we knew at war is now replaced by a struggle for profit and power. Out of this controversy that brings to light shortcomings in our economic practices, a higher life may come, but only if the needs of all men are the standard for those engaged in it. An annual income adequate for a worthy standard of living, an economy of high production and full employment, the provision of decent housing and

assured medical care, equal access to employment and other benefits of our society regardless of race and creed, the wider distribution of property and income and power — the achievement of these goals for all persons, families and nations is indispensable to the realization of the common good.

The American people have a crucial responsibility for attaining such goals at home and abroad. Planning by public bodies and far-sighted political leadership, as well as all possible co-operative action by private groups to the same end, are necessary if chaos is to be averted. Governmental initiative and controls need not lead to irresponsible power; only by their exercise under democratic safeguards can the irresponsible power of private control and group selfishness be overcome.

Whatever the special claims made by labour or by management, goals of the common good must regulate all settlements. Unions and employers are to be commended for the stability which they have given to industries through the more than 50,000 contracts providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes. We do not apportion the responsibility for recent and current stoppages of work, but we do stress the obligation upon both parties to exercise more mutual consideration and more self-discipline; and to recognize the sanctity of contracts once executed.

We note with deep satisfaction the number of employers who give evidence of their care for the common good and for the all-important factor of human relations within industry. With these lies the promise of benefits shared in by all. We are heartened likewise by instances of labour's sense of responsibility in the use of its growing power and status. To be sure it has not always met employers with the spirit that makes for mutual agreement, nor has it as yet put its own house completely in democratic order. But just as we cannot fairly accuse modern employers as a group of indifference or hostility to the just claims of labour, or of disregard of broad human interests, so we would not accuse labour as a group of lacking a sense of social responsibility. Selfishness besets us all as individuals and groups. Within the leadership and ranks of both labour and management a broader outlook on the problems involved in the peace and progress of mankind, as well as such self-discipline as was conspicuous during the war, is urgently needed in the continuing national and international emergency.

We would remind labour that the Social Ideals of the Churches has affirmed since the early years of this century the right of workers to organize freely into unions of their own choosing. There still are millions of workers to whom the benefits of trade unionism have never been extended. It is desirable that workers in some occupations, such as workers in agriculture, mostly untouched by the unions hitherto, should be given the advantages and protection of organized labour. Strong encouragement is due labour organizations in their efforts to improve the general welfare of their members through such activities as workers' education, child-care programmes, family case work and personal counselling; also in their activities reflecting a social concern beyond labour's immediate interest.

To meet the needs of this hour the Church of Christ must be strengthened in body and spirit. For social sustenance she looks to the millions of men and women of every race and class and land included in her membership, and

she expects of them, as Christians in an un-Christian society, sacrificial and discerning service. For empowering of spirit she turns anew to the Lord of History and the Redeemer of Mankind, the Carpenter of Nazareth, in loyalty to whom she finds her life, and by whose design the world must be refashioned.

THE JEWS AND THE PEACE TREATIES

Three of the most representative Jewish organizations submitted a number of considered statements to the Conference of Foreign Ministers of France, the U.S.S.R., Britain, and the United States of America. They contained proposals which were held to be essential to the establishment of satisfactory conditions for Jews in ex-enemy countries. They were presented as embodying the views not only of the three representative organizations but of the majority of the Jewish people as a whole, and the document is a clear indication of the desires of responsible Jews as distinct from the attitude of extremists. The three organizations which united to draw up the statement were the following:

1. The Board of Deputies of British Jews which was established in 1760 for the purpose of defending the civil and political rights of the Jews in the British Empire and in other parts of the world. It consists of deputies elected by Jewish congregations and other organizations in the United Kingdom and the British Dominions on a representative basis.

2. The World Jewish Congress which was founded in 1936 and was successor to the Comité des Délégations Juives. It represents constituent Jewish communities and organizations in forty-one countries and acts on their behalf in political matters of common concern in relation to intergovernmental agencies and conferences.

3. The American Jewish Conference, which was established in 1943 and consists of delegates elected by more than sixty national Jewish membership organizations and by the Jewish communities in every city in the United States. It was formed for the purpose of uniting American Jewry in a common programme for Jewish post-war reconstruction.

Everyone is agreed that no satisfactory peace settlement is possible unless the Jewish problem is settled. It cannot be dismissed because political agitation and terrorism (by a minority) tends to prejudice the case. In this responsible statement Jewish claims are interpreted and the document provides, at any rate, a reasonable basis for discussion. No one can deny the right of the Jewish people to a sympathetic consideration of their case and no one should be blind to its urgency. Six million Jews, over sixty per cent of European Jewry, was done to death in outbursts of brutality more terrible than any the world has seen before. The surviving remnants of the Jewish people in Europe have lost their status and possessions. Many are displaced, and still subject to anti-Semitic violence. The problem is not an academic one — it is a matter of common justice and the most urgent necessity. The armistice terms demanded the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, and it is claimed that the peace treaties should make this permanent. They should also insist that ex-enemy countries should 'enact legislation providing that anti-Semitic and anti-racial activities and similar acts of incitement to racial and religious hatred and discrimination are violations of criminal law and are contrary to public policy'. The prosecu-

tion and punishment of all persons who committed crimes against the Jews is demanded. It is further submitted that ex-enemy governments should be obliged to undertake all measures to secure to all persons under their jurisdiction, without discrimination as to race, sex, language, religion, or place of birth, the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of speech, or religion and religious worship, of political belief, of the Press, and of public meeting. This leads to a logical corollary in the case of the Jews, but it is a corollary which cannot be disputed if one remembers the causes for which the Allied Nations went to war. 'It should be the inalienable right of Jewish communities', says the statement, 'to maintain and foster the collective ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultured identity and institutions with legal protection in the exercise of this right, and with assistance from the State, where such is granted to any other ethnic or religious groups.'

Requests are made for the restitution of Jewish private, communal, and institutional properties and for compensation where restitution is impossible. Mass annihilation has left a problem of heirless property which it is claimed should be transferred, by the peace treaties, to an appropriate Jewish body for the purpose of Jewish reconstruction, rehabilitation, and resettlement. In the case of territorial changes the Jews ask for the same right 'to opt for nationality as may be granted to any other section of the population'. On the question of emigration the statement is explicit. 'Since the unprecedented catastrophe which overwhelmed the Jewish people in Europe has undermined the foundations of Jewish life in many areas, it is of the utmost importance that Jews should, wherever they desire to exercise it, be given the right to emigrate from the ex-enemy States and to take their possessions and assets or the proceeds thereof with them to their new places of settlement.' The difficulties which must be faced in this matter cannot be minimized, but the justice of the claim demand that they should be met with courage and with faith. The general statement concludes with the request that the implementation of the claims should be placed under the supervision of an appropriate international authority.

Specific considerations concerning the separate treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, and Rumania were also submitted to the Conference of Foreign Ministers. They contain claims to which the United Nations cannot be indifferent. We feel that there is a danger of thinking of the Jewish problem as very limited to the problem of Palestine. Only as one views the whole situation can one see the Palestinian issue in its proper perspective and do justice to the tragic survivors of the European holocaust.

STRANGE PROPHETS

One hundred and fifty years ago Robert Burns died at the age of thirty-seven. The hardship and poverty of his early days made him ill-equipped to fight disease. His own irregularities undermined his health. Whatever view we take of them they became fifth columnists fighting for his life. He was handicapped by poverty and lack of education. He had no friends who could exert their influence on his behalf in the world of letters. In spite of all these disadvantages he has taken his place amongst the immortals. In 1796 when he died only four thousand of his books had been printed. Millions have now been

published, and his readers have been drawn from almost every type of civilized society. Although he used a provincial dialect which puzzled Highlanders and even Lowlanders he has a world-wide public today. What is the secret of his appeal? He spoke freely — some think too freely — of the deep longings, the fierce battles, the joys and sorrows, the reverence and remorse of man's soul. He looked at his sorry plight and sang of the qualities which must survive and triumph. 'He was as much of a man, not a twentieth part as much of a poet as Shakespeare. He had an eye to see, a heart to feel — no more.' And yet, in spite of Hazlitt's limited approval, he was a prophet! 'A truce with bloody armaments', he writes. 'Anger, resentment and envy eat up the immortal part of man.' It was because he saw what was immortal in man that men have listened eagerly and hopefully to his songs in the midst of dull living or tragic dying.

The heart aye's the part aye,
That makes us right or wrang.

Leo Tolstoy lived a longer life, and spoke a different language, and twelve thousand people followed his body to the grave at Yasnaya Polyana. A century and a half ago twelve thousand people followed the body of Robert Burns to its resting-place in Dumfries. Neither of the two armies of mourners was wrong as they paid tribute to a prophet.

Today we are asking ourselves what can save the world. Some answer 'The Arts' — others 'The Sciences'. This year another unorthodox prophet, H. G. Wells, passed away. He, too, had few advantages with which to begin life. Shop assistant, usher, science student, tutor in a correspondence college, teacher of biology — these were the tasks from which at least he emerged as the writer of scientific fairy tales. Then suddenly, changing trains at Sandgate Junction, he bought a copy of More's *Utopia* and read it through before he slept that night. From that time he began to write another kind of book. His prophetic genius became more obvious. Some measure his importance by the number of circumstances he foretold which have already come to pass. That is a minor issue. As one reads his later books one feels he is saying, sometimes half-consciously, neither machines nor economics can save civilization, but only a change of heart. So, half-hesitatingly, he spoke from the laboratory. So Burns sang at the plough-tail, or riding his weary round inspecting 'ponds and yeasty barrels'. He in his way for the Arts, as Wells, in his way for the Sciences, sought Utopia. Something of the truth one gave us in 'The Cottar's Saturday Night' — something the other offered in 'The Country of the Blind'. Each knew what man wanted; each tried to point the way to the goal. In the last analysis both believed in faith and reason. Both knew that neither art nor science of themselves can save the world. But it was Burns who wrote, 'They never sought in vain that sought the Lord'. There lies the hope of man.

LESLIE F. CHURCH

Articles

A THACKERAY CENTENARY

ON the first day of January 1847, Messrs. Bradbury and Evans, the publishers of *Punch*, brought out the first number of a novel to be issued, as the practice then was, in monthly parts. It was bound in yellow wrappers with a woodcut design and the inscription:

VANITY FAIR

Pen and Pencil Sketches of English Society

By W. M. Thackeray

Author of *The Irish Sketch Book: Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo*:
of *James's Diary* and the *Snob Papers* in *Punch*, &c. &c.

It is worth while to give the title-page in full, for it tells us much — much about the book itself, much also about the author. At first, as he told his friend Lady Elliot, he was not able to hit on a title for the book; it came to him as an inspiration as he lay awake one night — and what an inspiration! *Vanity Fair*: the whole book is there, the satire, the moralizing, the melancholy. Nor must we miss the significance of that odd conjunction, *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Punch*; no book ever came into the world more queerly sponsored, yet the association is characteristic — one may almost say inevitable — and it defines and brings to a focus the enigma which is Thackeray.

It is a baffling combination; perhaps that is why Thackeray has never been altogether popular. He is a paradoxical writer, a preacher in cap-and-bells, painfully flippant on the surface, at heart in deadly earnest; a worldling who warns us, in tones of unmistakeable sincerity, to flee the world and all its vanities; a cynic who was profoundly sentimental and a satirist whose charity was wide and deep; a *bon vivant* oppressed with an incurable melancholy; a man of strong attachments who flitted restlessly from place to place and could never settle anywhere: what are we to make of him? He is full of contradictions. Was he something of a charlatan? He himself seems almost to admit as much. In the preface to *Vanity Fair* he presents himself before the curtain and gazes out upon the scene; among the rest his eye fixes on the 'quacks (*other* quacks, plague take them!) bawling in front of their booths'. Yet no writer was more alive to the moral pitfalls of his trade, or more severe and penetrating in his exposure of those who succumbed. Consider his strictures on Sterne in the *English Humourists*:

A perilous trade, indeed, is that of a man who brings his tears and laughter, his recollections, his personal griefs and joys, his private thoughts and feelings to market, who has to write them on paper, and sell them for money. Does he exaggerate his grief, so as to gain his reader's pity for a false sensibility? feign indignation, so as to establish a character for virtue? . . . affect benevolence or misanthropy? appeal to the gallery gods with claptraps and vulgar baits to catch applause?

How much of the paint and emphasis is necessary for the fair business of

the stage, and how much of the rant and rouge is put on for the vanity of the actor? His audience trusts him: can he trust himself? Where did the lie begin, and did he know where? and where did the truth end in the art and scheme of this man of genius, this actor, this quack?

This is first-rate criticism, but it is something more. Thackeray's judgements are always in essence moral judgements, and conscience is the unsleeping monitor who never leaves him alone. He was no charlatan, but he saw the danger; it is a danger that besets any writer who dresses up his own sentiments and experience for public consumption, as every novelist is bound to do, and he could not pass judgement on a fellow-craftsman without at the same time glancing fearfully at his own practice: 'There, but for the grace of God, goes William Makepeace Thackeray.' The habit of self-questioning is inveterate with him; it crops up in all his work, and it is a clue which must not be overlooked by anyone who wishes to gain an understanding either of the work or of the man.

For one thing, he was never wholly satisfied with his own achievement or sure of himself. Success came to him, not as it came to Dickens, at the beginning of his career and almost at the first bid, but only after a long apprenticeship and comparatively late in life. He was in his thirty-sixth year when *Vanity Fair* began, after a rather shaky start, to attract the favourable notice of the critics, and then to take the public by storm. It is true that this was in a sense his first serious venture, for though he had been living by his pen for ten years past, he had never quite taken himself seriously. When he was twenty-one he had inherited a fortune which brought him £500 a-year, and in those days that was quite a decent independence; but within a few years he had lost it all, partly through the failure of a bank in India, and partly by the rash purchase of a magazine which was already in difficulties when he acquired it, and very shortly afterwards expired. He had married early, and three children, of whom the second had died in infancy, had already been born to him when his losses came. Soon after the birth of the third child his young wife fell into a state of settled melancholy, which quickly issued in complete and incurable mental collapse. In this state she was destined to survive him by nearly thirty years.

It was under the cruel spur of these misfortunes that the indolent and careless young man had been driven to make the choice of a profession. Hitherto he had been everything by starts and nothing long; he had played with art, trifled with law, dabbled in journalism; in the end he took to writing, not from any compelling sense of vocation, but because he did not feel fit for anything else. The title-page of *Vanity Fair* gives the summary of what he had accomplished in his first struggling years. There is still a good deal of trifling. Two books of travel — hack work in which, however, a discerning few had already recognized the stamp of first-rate quality — *James's Diary*, one of his first essays in social satire, the *Snob Papers* from *Punch* on which such reputation as he so far had chiefly rested, &c. &c. The '&c. &c.' covers a great quantity of miscellaneous writing contributed to the newspapers and magazines of the day, chiefly to *Fraser's* and *Punch*, the two publications on which he had an established position. Anything for which he could find a market, anything which would bring in a much-needed guinea or two, engaged his accommodating pen. His industry was immense, and everything that he did, when we consider

that it was all bread-and-butter work, was astonishingly good, but as yet he was simply a working journalist living largely by casual labour. It is almost certain that if he had remained in the enjoyment of an independence he would never have been much more than an elegant amateur of letters, for though he had genius, it was not of that compulsive and irresistible kind which leaves a man no option. He owed everything to his losses.

How little importance he himself attached to this early work of his is shown by the fact that the bulk of it was pseudonymous. He was much better known by his deliciously funny pen-name of Michael Angelo Titmarsh than by his own. When therefore the success of *Vanity Fair* at last established his reputation as a serious writer, while naturally he was delighted, he was also faintly incredulous; for though he could not help knowing that he was clever, he could hardly bring himself to believe that he was great. He had none of the serene self-confidence of a man like Milton, who knew his own worth and was neither deterred by neglect nor greatly moved by success. He wanted to be confirmed in the sense of his new status in the world of letters, and eagerly sought the good opinion of his acquaintances. This anxiety was not unnaturally mistaken at the time for vanity; in reality it was diffidence. To the end of his days he could not feel altogether sure of himself and was haunted by the fear that he would lose his public or that his powers would fail him.

To put it shortly and simply, Thackeray was a very humble man; and this is the secret, not only of his unsleeping self-criticism, but of all his moral judgements. That a novelist can and must pass judgements will hardly be denied, unless we hold to the discredited theory of art for art's sake; but whether he is entitled to preach to us openly and without disguise, as Thackeray so constantly did, is a matter of opinion. The taste of the present day is decidedly against it. The moral, it is thought, should be implicit in the story, and the story must be allowed to speak for itself; for the writer to come forward in his own person and rub it in is bad art and bad manners. It may be so, but great artists do not work to a formula; they make their own rules, and if we are wise we shall not judge them by some preconceived idea, but study their own practice and judge by the results. The question is, do they bring it off? That Thackeray did preach is a fact which we must accept; if he preached well and to the purpose, that must justify him. And on that point, one would think, there can hardly be two opinions.

Consider an extreme case. He is speaking of Amelia in her widowhood. She has submitted to part with the son who is more to her than life, and is left behind in the dreary lodgings at Fulham to look after her bankrupt father and ailing, querulous mother. Meanwhile, Becky Sharp is enjoying the brilliant social success for which she has schemed and cheated all her life. Thackeray breaks off his narrative to point the moral:

The hidden and awful Wisdom which apportions the destinies of mankind is pleased so to cast down and humiliate the tender, good, and wise; and to set up the selfish, the foolish, or the wicked. Oh, be humble, my brother, in your prosperity! Be gentle with those who are less lucky, if not more deserving. Think, what right have you to be scornful, whose virtue is a deficiency of temptation, whose success may be a chance, whose rank may be an ancestor's accident, whose prosperity is very likely a satire.

Well, Thackeray is in the pulpit now, and his language is the very language of the pulpit; but, make no mistake about it, *it comes off*. Donne himself could hardly have done it better, and if it is allowed that a sermon of Donne's is literature, why not a sermon of Thackeray's?

Take another example, not quite so extreme. Old Sedley is dead — the ruined old man whose world came tumbling about his ears in the Hundred Days of Napoleon. Old Osborne, his one-time friend and, later, his railing accuser, lives on in miserable prosperity in the domestic mausoleum in Russell Square. Thackeray pauses to admonish his congregation:

Suppose you are particularly rich and well-to-do, and say on that last day, 'I am very rich; I am tolerably well known; I have lived all my life in the best society, and, thank heaven, come of a most respectable family. I have served my king and country with honour. I was in Parliament for several years where, I may say, my speeches were listened to and pretty well received. I don't owe any man a shilling . . . I leave' (the bequests follow, all very handsome) 'and I defy any man after I am gone to find anything against my character'.

Or suppose (Thackeray goes on) on the other hand, your swan sings quite a different sort of dirge, and you say, 'I am a poor, blighted, disappointed old fellow, and have made an utter failure through life. I was not endowed either with brains or with good fortune: and confess that I have committed a hundred mistakes and blunders. I own to having forgotten my duty many a time. I can't pay what I owe. On my last bed I lie utterly helpless and humble: and I pray forgiveness for my weakness, and throw myself with a contrite heart at the feet of the Divine Mercy'.

Another sermon — yes; but there is no difficulty in fitting it with a text: 'I tell you, this man went down to his house justified, rather than the other'. And may every preacher enforce his text even half as well!

These are examples of what must certainly be called Thackeray's pulpit style. It is of course only occasionally, at grave moments in his narrative, that he presents himself openly in gown and bands, and the appropriateness of the manner has to be felt in relation to the context. More usually he is content to be a moralist in motley, Punch rather than Bunyan, and his sermons are sallies of wit; his moral is tipped with satire and feathered with a jest, but, grave or gay, it is always the same moral. It is aimed at those who, like the virtuous old humbug Lady Kicklebury, 'never doubted about themselves'. For his prodigals and rogues he has a boundless charity, but when he is confronted with conscious virtue he lays on with a will. Thackeray knew his own countrymen very well, all the better perhaps because he so often went abroad. He was able to see them through the clear and sardonic eyes of the Parisians, and he understood, what few Englishmen have ever been able to understand, their reputation for hypocrisy. How indeed should they understand? Their moral sentiments were so very good that it was impossible for them to believe that there could be anything to criticize in their conduct. Besides, they were prosperous, and prosperity is always a ground for self-approval. The Victorians could well afford to ignore the attacks of the envious foreigner.

For all this, Thackeray was himself an Eminent Victorian, and it was only natural that he should share in many of the characteristics of his countrymen.

Of one quality he had perhaps rather more than his share, the sentimentalism in which the Victorians indulged with so hearty an appetite. To this rather sickly taste he catered with a will. It was hardly possible to lay it on too thick; the more you could make the melting heart of the public run over in delicious tears the better. In this rather heavy-handed accomplishment he and his great rival Dickens vied eagerly with one another. It has to be admitted that Thackeray never managed to produce anything in the sentimental line to equal the death of Little Dombey, and his admirers can only be thankful for it; but it was not for want of trying. 'There's no writing against this,' he exclaimed, slamming down the number of *Dombey & Son* which contained this death-bed scene; 'one hasn't an atom of chance. It's stupendous!' Well, different times, different manners, and the pathos of yesterday becomes the bathos of today.

We must not allow ourselves to be put off by these excesses. They were the defects of great qualities, and they need not interfere with our appreciation of those qualities. A wide-embracing charity, a brooding pity born of an abiding sense of the sadness of things, a great tenderness and a tolerance of human infirmities, a manly indignation toward deliberate wickedness and all moral blindness — these are great qualities indeed, and you find them everywhere in Thackeray. When it came to a supreme flight he could soar with an unflinching ease which Dickens never quite attained. (It seems as though we never can get away from that tiresome and ungracious comparison.) Only consider the great catastrophe of *Esmond*.

Beatrice, the lovely wilful girl who almost from infancy had practised her wiles on Esmond and snared him in a hopeless love, has achieved the great match which had always been the object of her ambition. On the very eve of her marriage to the Duke of Hamilton he is killed in a duel by the same hand which had already slain her father. Esmond hastens to her side, only to find her tearless and proud as ever in her grief, scornfully refusing to be pitied. As he leaves the house the street-criers are already out with their broadsheets, shouting through the town 'the full, true, and horrible account of the death of the Duke of Hamilton in a duel'. One of them is calling under Beatrice's open window, and Esmond drives him away. (This incident is taken from Swift's *Journal to Stella*, who related it on the very day of the tragedy — an excellent example of Thackeray's quick eye for the vivid and telling detail.) Esmond walks away to his lodging:

The sun was shining, though 'twas November: he had seen the market-carts rolling into London, the guard relieved at the Palace, the labourers trudging to their work in the gardens between Kensington and the City — the wandering merchants and hawkers filling the air with their cries. The world was going to its business again, although dukes lay dead and ladies mourned for them; and kings, very likely, lost their chances. So night and day pass away, and our place knows us not. Esmond thought of the courier, now galloping on the north road to inform him, who was Earl of Arran yesterday, that he was Duke of Hamilton today, and of a thousand great schemes, hopes, ambitions, that were alive in the gallant heart beating a few hours since, and now in a little dust quiescent.

And here we catch what is, perhaps, the most appealing note in Thackeray's writings, the undertone of sadness which sounds through all his work. A

constitutional melancholy was part of his make-up, as it is of many highly-strung men, and it must have been heightened by his domestic trouble and by perpetual over-work. The courage and tenderness of his nature saved him from sinking into pessimism, and he was quite incapable of self-pity, but he could never feel that in this life mortal men had any sure prospect of happiness. He believed in making the best of things and in being grateful for anything that shed a momentary brightness on our wayfaring life, but he knew that we travel through changeable weather and under uncertain skies. To make up one's mind to this is to be truly wise, and when adversity comes, as come it must to all, to meet it with fortitude, is the virtue that is chiefly expected of us. In one sense this may be called a stoical creed, but it was redeemed from the hardness which sometimes goes with such a philosophy by the submissive piety with which he held it. It was only for those who would not submit that he kept his scorn. Men who would not take the evil with the good and were not willing to pay their debt of sorrow he held to be cheats — cheats, and also fools. For they were asking of life more than it is ready to grant to any man. The longer they evade payment the more the debt mounts up, and in the end it will be collected with interest.

This is the lesson he draws from the human scene of which he is so thoughtful and interested a spectator, and this is the moral he enforces in the puppet-show which he exhibits for the contemplation of his audience. He presents it as a comedy and invites us to join in the fun of the fair, and, if we choose to look no deeper, we can enjoy it purely and simply as a show. But if so, we shall miss its meaning. This showman is a moralist, and the platform from which he shouts his patter and his jests is a pulpit; and the Fair itself, for all its noise and gaiety, is Vanity Fair. These are the follies of life — observe them, and be instructed. Learn that life is unforgiving and that follies must be paid for. Be wise, therefore; and if to be wise is also in some measure to be sad, you shall find in sadness itself a recompense. For this is the root of courage and of kindness, this is the spring of pity and of love; if the sorrows of life have yielded fruits like these they have not been in vain.

W. S. HANDLEY JONES

CROSS AND CRUCIFIX

The Sacred Poetry of Richard Crashaw

IN THE YEAR 1646 there was published in London a book of verse with the unusual feature of two title-pages: two separate volumes in one cover. The first was entitled *Steps to the Temple: Sacred Poems*, and the second *The Delights of the Muses, or Other Poems written on several Occasions*. Both were by 'Richard Crashaw, sometimes of Pembroke Hall and late fellow of S. Peter's Coll. in Cambridge'. A second edition appeared in 1648, 'wherein are added divers pieces not before extant'. Without this explanation the reader might be forgiven did he attribute the two books to two separate authors. *Steps to the Temple* is indeed a book of 'Sacred Poems'; *Delights of the Muses*, whilst entirely virtuous, is not.

Richard Crashaw's life was marked by little incident apart from the disruption of its end. The son of a zealous and well-known Puritan divine, he was born *circa* 1613-15 and educated at Charterhouse and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. In 1636 he went to Peterhouse, of which college he was elected a fellow the following year. From early days he was deeply devout and contemplated taking orders in the English Church. During his boyhood his father, whose piety was of a militant and anti-Roman order, died, and with the removal of his direct influence the son's mind acquired a strongly anti-Puritan bias. The growing strength of Puritanism, combined with its excesses and extravagances, and his personal contacts with Roman Catholics, unsettled his mind and modified his religious views, so that when the Civil War broke out and Peterhouse Chapel was sacked on 21st December 1643 by Parliamentary troops, he declined, as a fellow, to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant and was in consequence expelled. Thus ended the happiest period of his life.

After a short time in London and Oxford he published his book and in the same year, 1646, went to Paris, never to return to this country. There he was found in great poverty by an old friend and fellow-poet, Abraham Cowley. By this time he had formally made his submission to the Roman Catholic Church. Cowley introduced him to Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, who was then in Paris and in whose honour Crashaw, stout royalist as he was, had already written several poems. The Queen sent him to Rome with an introduction to Cardinal Palotta who employed him as a secretary. Crashaw's disgust and protest at what seemed to him the irreligious ways of the Cardinal's household led to unhappy and dangerous consequences, whereupon Palotta sent him to act as Canon of the Chapel of Our Lady at Loretto, but on the way he was stricken by fever and died four months after arrival. His burial there was to Cowley the

most divine

And richest offering of Loretto's shrine!¹

Such, in brief, is the story of a man who made no notable impact upon the life of his own time and who, apart from some Latin poems, left behind him only a slender volume of verse about whose quality critics failed to agree. Most intelligent readers hold today that the best of Crashaw's poetry will last as long as the English language endures or men are moved by the beauty of an exquisite line and a graceful fancy. The defects of his verse are patent to every reader but the wise man does not read for these. We smile — or frown — at such astonishing gaucheries as

He's followed by two faithful fountains;
Two walking baths; two weeping motions;
Portable, and compendious oceans,²

the reference being to the weeping eyes of Mary Magdalene as she attended our Lord; or the rhapsodizing of the Magi over the Infant Jesus:

Whose full and all-unwrinkled face
Nor sinks nor swells with time or place;
But every where, and every while
Is one consistent, solid smile.³

¹ *On the Death of Mr. Crashaw.*

² *S. Mary Magdalene, XX.*

³ *Epiphany of our Lord.*

Such passages, however, with others that are flat or obscure, are less obtrusive today than once they were, for this is an age that does not expect perfection and which readily forgets the anguish of such infelicities for joy that some phrase or thought of rapturous beauty has been born into the world. So we read, in the same poem that contains the 'portable, and compendious oceans',

The dew no more will weep
The primrose's pale cheek to deck:
The dew no more will sleep
Nuzzel'd in the lily's neck;
Much rather would it be thy tear,
And leave them both to tremble here,

and straightway we forgive and forget. Such writing more than atones for 'the false wit, the glittering conceits and strained similes' which roused the ire of John Dryden and Alexander Pope,¹ and leaves us grateful to Swinburne for his praise of 'the dazzling intricacy and affluence in refinements, the supple and cunning implication, the choiceness and subtlety of Crashaw'.

Crashaw's themes are few, but like the four strings of a violin, capable of many melodies as the musician fingers them, and unlike W. H. Davies's 'pleasant cuckoo',

the simple bird that thinks two notes a song.²

He lives in the presence of the Cross, which, in all his thought, is never far away. It is to him an object of devotion as the very instrument of human redemption:

O sad, sweet Tree,
Woeful and joyful we
Both weep and sing in shade of thee.³

Throughout his verse the weeping and the singing persist. The physical aspects of the Crucifixion exercise an almost morbid fascination over him. His is a type of piety, so natural to some and so alien to others, that finds satisfaction in the Adoration of the Cross or in a cult so modern as that of Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. His spiritual destiny is written in his verse. For such as he all roads lead to Rome. Puritan and Parliament, hustling him out of his Cambridge fellowship, only hastened the inevitable day when Crashaw would pack his bag and follow whither his questing spirit had led, to

the holy place wherein
Sits the successor of the greatest Peter.⁴

Edward Hutton's words are true: 'Crashaw could never have lived in the Establishment, at any rate as it then was; his was too sensuous, too passionate a religion for any but the most uncompromising master.'⁵ The sequel is largely guess-work. Did he find, as other such pilgrims have done, the master whose rein checked the passion and outpouring of his free spirit? Could he say, with the Vicar of Bray,

¹ *Mr. Pope: His Life and Times*, by Geo. Paston, Vol. I, p. 37.

² *April's Charms*.

³ *The Office of Holy Church*.

⁴ Dante, *Inferno*, II, 23.

⁵ Introduction to *Crashaw's Poems* (Methuen, 1901).

CROSS AND CRUCIFIX

The Church of Rome I found would suit
Full well my constitution,

or did he discover an interpretation of the familiar words of Juvenal which that cynical and close observer of his fellow men (and women) could not even have imagined:

Omnia Romae

*Cum pretio?*¹

Was a part of that price the muting of his music and the swift death that silenced it too soon?

Go, songs, for ended is our brief, sweet play;
Go, children of swift joy and tardy sorrow:
And some are sung, and that was yesterday,
And some unsung, and that may be tomorrow.*

But for Crashaw there was no tomorrow. Death took him when he was but thirty-six, and how much would one give for those songs unsung, coloured as inevitably they would have been by experience wider than any that his cloistered life at Cambridge could give!

// In thought we see him before the central emblem of his faith, a Crucifix. His emotion finds expression in imagery reminiscent of Mark Antony's before the murdered body of Caesar:

Had I as many eyes as thou hast wounds,
Weeping as fast as they stream forth thy blood. . . .
Over thy wounds now do I prophesy,
Which, like dumb mouths, do ope their ruby lips,
To beg the voice and utterance of my tongue. . . .*

To Crashaw the wounds of Jesus are both mouths and eyes:

O these wakeful wounds of Thine!
Are they mouths? or are they eyes?
Be they mouths, or be they eyne,
Each bleeding part some one supplies
Lo! a mouth, whose full-bloom'd lips
At too dear a rate are roses:
Lo! a blood-shot eye that weeps,
And many a cruel tear discloses.*

Some of his language is even more strained and generally distasteful to the religious mind today:

Thee with Thyself they have too richly clad;
Opening the purple wardrobe in Thy side.
O never could there be garment too good
For Thee to wear, but this of Thine own blood.*

¹ *Satire*, III, 183. Translation being of meaning rather than words, I suggest: 'In Rome one must pay through the nose for everything'.

² *Julius Caesar*, iii, 1.

³ *On the Wounds of our Crucified Lord*.

⁴ F. Thompson, *Envoy*.
⁵ *Divine Epigrams*.

The utter pity roused by the mangled body of the Crucified creates a passionate desire to share in His sufferings. Others, like the Mother of Jesus and Mary Magdalene have shared in them; so also should he. Their tear-dimmed eyes fascinate and move him, as eyes always did. Such evidence of the grief of others was to him as Milton's 'soul of Orpheus', that could

sing

Such notes as, warbled to the string,
Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek,¹

Crawshaw himself being *in loco Plutonis*. He looked and, lo, there met him

Time with a gift of tears,²

so that he became akin to my Lord of Exeter:

All my mother came into mine eyes
And gave me up to tears.³

Here with our Lord's Mother he takes his stand:

In shade of Death's sad tree
Stood doleful she.

Before her eyes

Hers and the whole World's Joy,
Hanging all torn, she sees; and in His woes
And pains, her pangs and throes:
Each wound of His, from every part,
All more at home in her one heart.

O teach these wounds to bleed

In me; me, so to read

This book of loves, thus writ

In lines of death, my life may copy it

With loyal cares.

O let me, here, claim shares,

Yield something in thy sad prerogative

(Great Queen of griefs!), and give

Me too, my tears; who, though all stone,

Think much that thou shouldst mourn alone.

O teach mine (heart), too, the art

To study Him so, till we mix

Wounds, and become one crucifix.⁴

Here are unquestioned sincerity, quiet intensity, restrained passion and many an exquisite line and graceful turn of fancy, but somehow we are not greatly moved. The emphasis is on externals such as we associate with a crucifix rather than with the Cross. We are called to sorrow as it might be before the bleeding corpse of Caesar or the ashes of Joan of Arc. It needs mental effort and vivid imagination to respond, and even then we fail, for all is so far away and so long ago. It is not easy to summon

¹ *Il Penseroso*, l. 105. ² Swinburne. *Atlanta in Calydon*. Chorus: 'Before the beginning of years.'

³ *King Henry the Fifth*, iv, 4.

⁴ *Sancta Maria Dolorum*.

tears of an antique bitterness.¹

We may even ask if the effort is worth while and what would be gained were we to achieve. It is in the providence of God that the physical sufferings of individuals, however profoundly they may have moved contemporaries, cannot long retain such power, or mankind would early have become dehumanized under an ever accumulating load of grief. The pristine horror of the thing cannot remain even with contemporaries.

Griefs, too, but brief while stay,
And sorrow, being o'er,
Its salt tears shed away,
Woundeth the heart no more.
Stealthily lave those waters
That solemn shore.²

Think, for example of De Stogumber, that burlesque English chaplain of Mr. G. Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*, urging in his pseudo-patriotic, pseudo-religious fanaticism the burning of Joan, and, having witnessed the terrible scene, stumbling back agonized, half demented, falling on his knees before Warwick and shrieking: 'O God, take away this sight from me! O Christ, deliver me from this fire that is consuming me! . . . I am in hell for evermore.' But he was not. Probably Hell is never recognized as such in a man's first experience of it. Here was one who was not only a witness of the physical sufferings but a prime instigator of them and a sharer in the guilt. Yet, years later, when we meet him in the Epilogue to the play, an old man and the beloved priest of an English country parish, he encounters the ghost of Joan —and fails to recognize her. He confesses, quite calmly, 'I did a very cruel thing once because I did not know what cruelty was like . . . I have been a different man ever since, though a little astray in my wits sometimes'. There is no screaming agony as on the day of the execution. Indeed, he says, without emotion, 'She was burned to a cinder; dead and gone, dead and gone'. Just that! The tension of those first moments was too great to last. Human nature cannot bear it; but something is carried over and becomes a deposit in the personality and perhaps in the heritage of mankind for ever. What is it?

De Stogumber says, in the Epilogue, that because he had *seen* this cruel deed he was *redeemed and saved*. When Cauchon, a bishop of the Church who was at Joan's burning, makes the suggestion that the sufferings of Christ might have been enough to redeem and save him, De Stogumber rejects it vigorously: 'No. Oh, no: not at all. I had seen them in pictures and read of them in books, and been greatly moved by them, as I thought. But it was no use: it was not our Lord that redeemed me, but a young woman whom I actually saw burned to death; oh, most dreadful. But it saved me.'

One can well believe it, though such an effect is not necessarily universal. The simple, direct, emphatic sincerity of De Stogumber's words carries conviction. Joan's stake had, in that tremendous moment, blotted out for this professedly Christian man that Cross of Jesus before which he had so long prostrated himself in mechanical, uncomprehending, unavailing devotion. It had opened up to him a meaning in that Cross which he had missed: the horror of

¹ W. De la Mare, *They Told Me*.

² *Idem*, *Clear Eyes*.

human wickedness and the tremendous power of suffering love and devotion to redeem. Apparently Joan's stake never lost its priority in this man's crucified mind, but that is of small account since the inwardness of a greater Cross had thereby touched his heart and changed his life. God wrought salvation for him through that Cross at one remove.

Rarely in modern times, until Nazism and Fascism laid bloody hands on large sections of human kind, have people had to witness physical martyrdom deliberately inflicted. This being so it is more easily possible to stand before the Cross of Christ and see it, as De Stogumber did, as merely a crucifix; a reminder bodying forth in realistic and often crude art, 'old, unhappy, far-off things'. It is only when men come to see that Cross as, in his life thereafter, De Stogumber saw Joan's stake, that it ceases to be a crucifix and effects the miracle of redemption. 'It was dreadful . . . but it saved me.' Men have to pass through and beyond the mere physical 'dreadfulness' before they discover that saving power and grace.

That Crashaw is only or even mainly concerned with the physical sufferings of Jesus and the mental sufferings of the watchers by the Cross is inconceivable, prominently as these figure in his verse. He had himself undoubtedly passed

beyond the pain, beyond the broken clay,¹

and assumes that his readers have done the same. He does not explain or help them to understand but calls upon them to join him in general praise of his Lord.

Inevitably his poetry of the Passion directs us to one who was in certain respects his lyrical and spiritual descendant and with whom he repeatedly challenges comparison, Charles Wesley. Wesley, too, stands before the Cross and brings us there to note the wounds and physical sufferings of our Lord, but his references and descriptive touches are almost wholly incidental and are never far away from that interpretation of them which is the core of the Christian Faith. On one occasion, at least, he shares in thought with our Lord's mother the vigil at the Cross, expressing as Crashaw does the desire to be a partner in her sorrow. It is to *her* that Crashaw addresses his prayer:

Yea, let my life and me

Fix here with thee,

And at the humble foot

Of this fair tree (the Cross), take our eternal root.

That so we may

At least be in Love's way;

And in these chaste wars, while the wing'd wounds flee

So fast 'twixt Him and Thee,

My breast may catch the kiss of some kind dart,

Though as at second hand, from either heart.*

In the corresponding passage Charles Wesley also prays, but to *his Lord*:

Place us near the accursed wood

Where Thou didst Thy life resign,

Near as once Thy mother stood;

Partners of the pangs divine,

Bid us feel her sacred smart,

Feel the sword that pierc'd her heart.*

¹ Masefield, *Good Friday*.

* *Sancta Maria Dolorum*, VII.

* *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, No. 22 (1745).

This mood is rare with Wesley. Not the physical sufferings of Jesus, long since over, inspire his mightiest passion lines, but the eternal significance of them for sinful, suffering men. Rarely does he leave us gazing at a crucifix. With Crashaw it is otherwise. Between us and the occasional glimpses he affords us of the meaning of our Lord's Passion there always hangs a diaphanous tapestry woven of blood and tears. Thus, he gives a rendering of the hymn of St. Thomas Aquinas — '*Ecce panis Angelorum: Adoro Te*' — so free that it virtually becomes his own:

O soft, self-wounding Pelican,
Whose breast weeps balm for wounded man:
Ah, this way bend Thy benign flood
To a bleeding heart that gasps for blood.
That blood, whose least drops sovereign be
To wash my worlds of sins from me.¹

The introduction of the Pelican of fable, feeding its young with its own blood, jars upon us today, but it was for long a common emblem of Christ. For example, on meeting the spirit of St. John in Paradise Beatrice says to Dante:

This is he who lay
Upon the bosom of our Pelican.²

To symbolize the higher — and, in the case of Jesus, how much the higher — by the lower, can hardly fail to be not only grotesque but derogatory to modern ears. In the verse just quoted, typical of others, there looms dim in the background little more than a shadow of the Divine purpose:

To wash my worlds of sins from me,

whilst obtrusively in the foreground hangs the veil, heavily soaked in blood and tears. We are conscious of no sympathetically emotional response and having read we pass on to the sequel.

In such a hymn as Wesley's

For ever here my rest shall be
Close to Thy bleeding side,³

there is the same symbolism of the shed blood which the writer entwines with that of the feet washing — he has no manner of use for pelicans — and then breaks through and beyond it all, taking us with him and putting strong prayer not on our lips alone but in our hearts, for the hymn continues:

Sprinkle me ever with Thy blood,
And cleanse, and keep me clean.
Wash me, and make me thus Thine own,
Wash me, and mine Thou art,
Wash me, but not my feet alone,
My hands, my head, my heart.

¹ *Hymn of St. Thomas.*

² Dante, *Par.* XXV.

³ *Methodist Hymn-book*, No. 337 (1779); No. 456 (1933).

Wesley, however, can rise to greater heights than this and create more profound emotional effects, where the earthly symbols are utterly spiritualized in a purer and more exhilarating air. In that audacious hymn, 'With glorious clouds encompassed round',¹ it is before no crucifix, no pelican, that he bids us stand and sing,

In manifested love *explain*
Thy wonderful design;
What meant the suffering Son of Man,
The streaming blood divine?

Come then, and to my soul *reveal*
The heights and depths of grace,
The wounds which all my sorrows heal,
That dear disfigured face.

The physical is but lightly touched upon; it is its meaning that matters and the stress lies on the moving petitions, 'Explain!' 'What meant?' 'Reveal!' Even after such complete physical realism as

Five bleeding wounds He bears,
Received on Calvary,²

comes their significance in the purposes of God:

They pour effectual prayers,
They strongly speak for me.

Hear him, too, in those cataclysmic advent verses which found no place in the 1779 collection of hymns but appeared as No. 66 in its successor:³

The dear tokens of His passion
Still *His dazzling body* bears;
Cause of endless exultation
To His ransomed worshippers:
With what rapture
Gaze we on *those glorious scars!*

Could anyone other than Charles Wesley have written that? 'His dazzling body!' — 'Those glorious scars!' Only a supreme master of spiritual song could daringly and successfully fling out such phrases; the tyro would fail to the point of impiety. 'Those glorious scars!' One rejoices in the felicity and inevitability of the word. The 'bleeding wounds' are of the long ago, themselves the very *rationale* of the crucifix; the 'scars' are the tokens, world without end, of the spiritual victory of Him who opened to mankind the gate of Eternal Life; the Lamb of God slain before the foundation of the world: an act less of Time than of Eternity.

Charles Wesley takes us into the arcana of the Christian Faith and bids us rejoice with him: 'Rejoice; again I say, Rejoice.' Crashaw leads us but to the threshold. Nevertheless, as we have noted, he himself had crossed that threshold, for his verse breathes throughout 'the peace and joy of faith', giving the impression of a soul that has accepted simply and without reservation St. Paul's

¹ 124 (1779); 172 (1933).

² 194 (1779); 368 (1933).

³ 264 (1933).

teaching that Christ has 'blotted out the bond written in ordinances that was against us . . . and hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross'.¹ 'Taken it out of the way', or, as Lightfoot suggests, 'put it out of sight' — καὶ αὐτὸ ἔθηκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου. Thereafter sin has ceased to trouble him; even its ghost is for ever laid, if his poetry be a true witness. What few references there are to personal sin and guilt are elusive and seem to fade out into the thought of the general sinfulness of mankind. He addresses the Mother of our Lord thus:

Rich queen, lend some relief;
At least an alms of grief,
To a heart who by sad right of sin
Could prove the whole sun (too sure) due to him.²

In his fine *Hymn to the Name of Jesus* he includes himself with mankind:

we, dark sons of dust and sorrow,
and
we, low worms;

whilst in *Charitas Nimia* he asks:

Lord, what is man? why should he cost Thee
So dear? What had his ruin lost Thee?
Lord, what is man, that Thou hast over-bought
So much a thing of nought?

and presently describes him as 'a piece of peevish clay'.

Such passages as these would scarcely merit quotation in the case of any other writer, but they are amongst the few and the strongest on this subject that Crashaw's verse affords. He is not directly concerned with sin: not even with the memory of it. Why, indeed, should he be? Some have felt this to be a defect. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch suggests that 'Crashaw is often terribly at his ease in Sion'.³ 'At ease', yes! But why 'terribly'? It is an ease which St. Paul calls 'freedom', the freedom wherewith Christ makes men free: the freedom of a man who is no longer under *law* but under *grace*. By what right or reason should we expect sin and sin's disease to figure in the repertoire of every singer of spiritual things? Is it not, for the Christian, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου? This is not to suggest that Crashaw held his life to be one of sinless perfection: far from it. Rather it was a life in which sin was for ever being forgiven, through an ever-renewed faith in the Divine Life for ever being poured out before God. To this man Religion was Life and Freedom and his faith natural and instinctive; something beyond the dreary abstractions of debate. His soul was at one with Milton's angels:

O unexampled love,
Love nowhere to be found less than Divine!
Hail, Son of God, Saviour of men, Thy name
Shall be the copious matter of my song
Henceforth, and never shall my harp Thy praise
Forget, nor from Thy Father's praise disjoin.⁴

¹ Colossians ii, 14.

² Sancta Maria Dolorum, X.

³ *Studies in Literature*, Vol. I; *Some Seventeenth Century Poets*, Chap. 3. ⁴ *Paradise Lost*, iii, 410.

Therefore his best verses sing and soar, carrying us with them, and they have that spontaneity which certainty and gladness alone can give, as they ring out repeatedly in praise of 'Jesus, the Name above every Name'.

I sing the Name which none can say
But touch'd with an interior ray;

and in the very spirit of Watts's

Angels, assist our mighty joys,
Strike all your harps of gold,

he summons Nature, Art, Music, to his aid: all

whose names belong

Unto the everlasting life of song;
Wake, lute and harp, and every sweet-lipped thing
That talks with tuneful string:
Start into life, and leap with me
Into a hasty, fit-tuned harmony.

Come, ye soft ministers of sweet sad mirth,
Bring all your household-stuff of Heaven on earth;

Cheer thee my heart!
For thou too hast thy part
And place in the great throng
Of this unbounded all-embracing song.

From this poem, *To the Name above every Name, the Name of Jesus*, quotation is not easy. It stands among Crashaw's supreme achievements: a rushing, breathless exuberance of sheer, infectious music: a very cataract of praise; a Niagara of jubilation, that, when the surge and cadence of it are over, leaves the dazed, enchanted reader buoyant upon waves that dance and rock and sparkle, memories and motions of the impetuous flood that has borne him in its strong, exhilarating flow. When Crashaw says 'Sing! Praise!' he who has music in his soul must perforce obey. So he sings and sings again the praise of Him who

left His Father's Court, and came
Lightly as a lambent flame,
Leaping upon the hills, to be
The humble King of you and me.¹

To no poem will the reader return with greater pleasure than to the one entitled *In the Holy Nativity of our Lord God. A Hymn Song as by the Shepherds*, and written in the form of an Eclogue of Virgil. Two of St. Luke's shepherds contend in praise of the Infant Jesus and there is a directing chorus. It is of interest to observe that Virgil's and Crashaw's shepherds are almost contemporaries. Virgil died in 19 B.C., before the Advent of the Child of Bethlehem, of whom his Fourth Eclogue is so curiously suggestive that it was at one time regarded as 'Messianic' and still is occasionally so described. Both groups of shepherds stand out against the one historical background of the

¹ *Against Irresolution and Delay in Matters of Religion.*

Augustan Age. Crashaw even selects Virgilian names for St. Luke's shepherds: *Tityrus* from the First Eclogue and *Thyrsis* from the Seventh. There appears to be a slight measure of fitness in the choice, particularly in the case of *Tityrus*, who, as every reader of the Eclogues knows, is Virgil himself. Augustus, or Octavian as he then was, had promised land to the veterans of the Roman Army who had completed their term of service and he confiscated for that purpose estates already held by others. Virgil was amongst the unfortunates thus dispossessed, but at the instance of friends he obtained an audience of Octavian, who not only restored his land, but thereafter gave him his personal friendship. The songs of *Tityrus* in the Eclogue are in praise of Octavian for his bounty and also descriptive of the visit to Rome. He puts Octavian (Augustus) on a level with the gods: 'for always shall he be a god to me' — *namque erit ille mihi semper deus*.¹

It is of a far greater than Virgil's *deus* that Crashaw's *Tityrus* sings: one who is God Incarnate. Is there a reminiscence here of the *Divus Augustus*, the Emperor invested with divinity, but too late for Virgil's song? As we read we cannot fail to draw the contrast between the Ruler of the Roman world and Jesus born in a stable. That seems to be what Crashaw intended for he himself hints at it when the chorus declares that in all the love and tenderness of His Mother, Jesus had 'more than Caesar's birthright is'. *Tityrus* and *Thyrsis* are summoned to tell the sun that

he rises now, too late
To show us aught worth looking at,

for whilst he (the sun) slept, these men had

found out Heaven's fairer eye,
And kissed the cradle of our King.

The shepherds see the Infant Jesus as the Light of the World, eclipsing the brightness of the sun, and round that conception the poet lets his delicate, coruscating fancy play, in words whose sweet and artless beauty is perhaps unsurpassed by any who have made St. Luke's Incarnation story the theme of their song.

Hear, then, *Tityrus*!

Gloomy night embraced the place
Where the noble Infant lay.
The Babe looked up and showed His face;
In spite of darkness, it was day.
It was Thy day, sweet, and did rise,
Not from the East, but from Thine eyes.

Poor world (said I), what wilt thou do
To entertain this starry Stranger?
Is this the best thou canst bestow,
A cold, and not too cleanly, manger?
Contend, the powers of Heaven and Earth,
To fit a bed for this huge birth?

¹ Virgil, *Eclogues*, I.

I saw the curled drops, soft and slow,
 Come hovering o'er the place's head;
 Offering their whitest sheets of snow
 To furnish the fair Infant's bed:
 Forbear, said I; be not too bold,
 Your fleece is white, but 'tis too cold.

In unison both shepherds sing:

We saw Thee in Thy balmy nest,
 Bright dawn of our eternal Day!
 We saw Thine eyes break from their East,
 And chase the trembling shades away.
 We saw Thee, and we blest the sight,
 We saw Thee by Thine Own sweet light.

No reader of Crashaw can fail to be aware of Santa Teresa, and without reference to her no sketch of the poet would be either adequate or just. When he left England for the south of Europe the Romance languages had long held for him the poetry of the world and his was the longing of Keats:

O for a beaker full of the warm south!¹

To France and Italy he went, but the joy of his desiring was Spain, and had it not been for

fell death's untimely frost,
 That nipt my flower sae early,²

thither he must have come at last. More, probably, than aught else, Spain meant for him Santa Teresa, that sane, devout, cultured, and austere mystic of the sixteenth century who still holds authority over those who come under her spell. The testimony of so devout and vigorous a mind as that of Dr. Alexander Whyte needs no other confirmation, though much might be given. 'Teresa's intellect', he writes, 'her sheer power of mind, is enough of itself to make her an intensely interesting study to all thinking men'; and he goes on to quote Bishop Palafox: 'What I admire in her is the peace, the sweetness, and the consolation with which in her writings she draws us toward the best, so that we find ourselves captured rather than conquered, imprisoned rather than prisoners. No one reads the Saint's writings who does not presently seek God, and no one through her writings seeks God who does not remain in love with the Saint.'³

These are impressive words, strong to send the reader to Teresa herself. Crashaw was 'in love with the Saint' and lived in this enchantment, three of his poems being the creation of its witchery. The first of them, *A Hymn, to the Name and Honour of the Admirable Saint Teresa*, he prefaces by a brief personal tribute: 'a woman for angelical height of speculation, for masculine courage and performance more than a woman'. When a child of six Teresa had fervently desired martyrdom, thus the sooner to enter into her Saviour's presence, and to that end had attempted an escape from home in search of the land of the Moors, hopeful that these enemies of Christianity would oblige

¹ *Ode to a Nightingale*. ² Burns, *Highland Mary*. ³ Alex. Whyte, *Santa Teresa*, pp. 10-11.

her and thus ensure for her the martyr's crown. This incident made an impression upon Crashaw such as would evoke the contemptuous pity of almost any amateur psychologist today, but that need not detract from our pleasure in the poem. The poet himself, we remember, had been moved by a kindred emotion in his contemplation of the Cross. He sees this, her desire, not as a mental obliquity due to irrational upbringing, but as a sign of a preternatural sanctity. Like Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac, it is counted to her for righteousness, but the act itself is averted by the power of God.

She'll to the Moors; and trade with them
 For this unvalued diadem (her life):
 She'll offer them her dearest breath,
 With Christ's name in't, in change for death:
 She'll bargain with them, and will give
 Them God, teach them how to live
 In Him; or, if they this deny,
 For Him she'll teach them how to die.
 So shall she leave amongst them sown
 Her Lord's blood, or at least her own.

Farewell house, and farewell home!
 She's for the Moors, and martyrdom.

So we read 'out of the mouths of babes and sucklings' in an unusual sixteenth-century context.

But

wise Heaven will never have it so,
 and she has to return

t' embrace a milder martyrdom.

Before her lies a life of strenuous earthly toil and many are the deaths she must die, but there shall be easeful triumph at the last, as

Heav'n open'd wide
 Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound
 On golden hinges moving.¹

Angels, thy old friends, there shall greet thee,
 Glad at their own home now to meet thee.

All thy good works which went before
 And waited for thee, at the door,
 Shall own thee there; and all in one
 Weave a constellation
 Of crowns, with which the King thy Spouse
 Shall build up thy triumphant brows.

All thy old woes shall now smile on thee,
 And thy pains sit bright upon thee,
 All thy sorrows here shall shine,
 All thy sufferings be divine:
 Tears shall take comfort, and turn gems,
 And wrongs repent to diadems.

¹ Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII. 205.

Finally, he sees her attended in Heaven by the souls spiritually begotten of her on earth. She and they approach the Ultimate Divine Presence and Crashaw urges her forward in words of simple and fervent beauty:

Go now

And with them all about thee, bow
To Him; put on (He'll say), put on
(My rosy love) that thy rich zone
Sparkling with the sacred flames
Of thousand souls, whose happy names
Heaven keeps upon thy score: (Thy bright
Life brought them first to kiss the light,
That kindled them to stars), and so
Thou with the Lamb, thy Lord, shalt go,
And wheresoe'er He sets His white
Steps, walk with Him those ways of light,
Which who in death would live to see,
Must learn in life to die like thee.

Crashaw calls his second *Teresa* poem an Apology for the first. The enmity that then existed between Spain and an England that still remembered the Great Armada and events that led to its sailing had no power to lessen his admiration of the Saint, for

Souls are not Spaniards too: one friendly flood
Of Baptism blends them all into a blood.
Christ's Faith makes but one body of all souls,
And Love's that body's soul; no law controls
Our free traffic for Heaven; *we may maintain*
Peace, sure, with piety, though it come from Spain,
What soul soe'er in any language, can
Speak Heav'n like hers, is my soul's country-man
O 'tis not Spanish, but 'tis Heav'n she speaks.

The third of these poems, entitled *The Flaming Heart: upon the Book and Picture of the Seraphical Saint Teresa as she is usually expressed with a seraphim beside her*, has the distinction of containing some of Crashaw's most irritating lines and bizarre fancies and also what is generally regarded as his most magnificent flight of unfettered eloquence. A Seraph is the recognized emblem of Teresa, and the poet takes to task a painter who has depicted one in her company. 'You must', he adjures the reader,

transpose the picture quite,
And spell it wrong to read it right;
Read him for her and her for him,
And call the saint the seraphim.

The road by which he then leads us in trying to effect this transformation is tortuous, bewildering, and rather boring. Suddenly there is a startling change, as though he had, in a moment's gift of almost miraculous strength, flung off all restraint, to riot superbly in a new-found freedom. Gone all striving for

effects that wilt even in the moment of their unfolding; gone all verbiage, all false sentiment, and as though she had power in Heaven to prevail with God on his behalf, he cries to this woman, who has possessed his spirit with her own:

O thou undaunted daughter of desires!
 By all thy dower of lights and fires;
 By all the eagle in thee, all the dove;
 By all thy lives and deaths of love;
 By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
 And by those thirsts of love more large than they;
 By all thy brim-fill'd bowls of fierce desire,
 By thy last morning's draught of liquid fire;
 By the full kingdom of that final kiss
 That seized thy parting soul, and seal'd thee His;
 By all the Heaven thou hast in Him
 (Fair sister of the seraphim!)
 By all of Him we have in thee;
 Leave nothing of myself in me.
 Let me so read thy life, that I
 Unto all life of mine may die.

Wordsworth's salutation to Milton,

Thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart,

might, with equal truth though various meaning, have been addressed to Crashaw. His was the sequestered spirit that shuns life's hurly-burly; the cloistered soul that finds its strength and joy within. Christ is there: that real Church which is the Kingdom of God is there: and thankfully he accepts what they offer — *and enjoys it*. Herein is life. Religion is his world and its ambrosia suffices him. In lines addressed to a girl to whom he had given a prayer-book he describes in a few words the society of his day as it appeared to him.

Say, gentle soul, what can you find
 But painted shapes,
 Peacocks and apes,
 Illustrious flies,
 Gilded dunghills, glorious lies;
 Goodly surmises
 And deep disguises,
 Paths of water, words of wind?
 Truth bids me say 'tis time you cease to trust
 Your soul to any son of dust.

In a world so envisaged there is nothing to tempt him, so he shuts his door upon it all and keeps inviolate the sanctuary of his soul, with the incomparable treasures therein.

Such is the man and, whether we approve or not, so we must accept him if we would read him aright. As we have seen, life pushed him out of his academic cloister, haunt of a perhaps too self-regarding peace, and he contemptuously acquiesced. His loyalties led him along chequered ways of earthly

poverty,
 out in fa
 frost-bo
 than a c
 rememb

WH
 of
 which
 bable t
 since t
 printed
 Society
 recentl
 collecti
 Collect
 Elgin C
 Dodsw
 this sp
 Ther
 hithert
 July 19
 or so e
 the Le
 Wesley
 article
 longes
 a leng
 her hu
 Dr. L
 five to
 bury.
 Charle
 long l
 Fletch
 In ad
 about

poverty, discomfort and apparent futility. By human standards his life petered out in failure, yet, in the winter of his discontent, when no bird note pierced the frost-bound air, he maintained that immaculacy of the spirit which is more than a counterpoise to life's ills. To the untimely end he remained the 'self remembering soul' of his own verse, that

sweetly recovers

Her kindred with the stars; not basely hovers
 Below: but meditates her immortal way
 Home to the original source of Light and intellectual day.¹

W. L. DOUGHTY

A WESLEY LEGACY

WHEN Mr. Telford wrote his preface to the Standard Edition of *The Letters of John Wesley* in 1931 the number available was 2,670, 'but the way in which letters have recently come in from all parts of the world makes it probable that others may yet be added'. In the fifteen years that have elapsed since that was written quite a number of letters have been discovered and printed in *Wesley's Chapel Magazine*, the *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society, and elsewhere. These have usually been single letters, but there has recently been bequeathed to Wesley's House a very valuable and interesting collection of Wesleyana including over a score of hitherto unpublished letters. Collected by Dr. Edward Riggall, who died on 18th November 1900 at 28 Elgin Crescent, London, these were left by him to his daughter, Mrs. Jeremiah Dodsworth. That lady died early this year (1946) in Worthing, and by her this splendid collection was bequeathed to Wesley's House.

There are four letters written by Wesley to his wife, and all of them are hitherto unpublished. Three of these letters have been printed in full in the July 1946 issue of *Wesley's Chapel Magazine*, and one of them is dated a week or so earlier than the letter reproduced in facsimile in the Standard Edition of the *Letters* and which was supposed to be the earliest extant letter to Mrs. John Wesley. Of the fourth letter, of which only a slight mention is made in the article just mentioned, Dr. Riggall has added a note: 'This must be one of the longest letters J. W. ever wrote. I gave £6 17s. 6d. for it at Sotheby's.' It is a lengthy letter dealing with various accusations made by Mrs. Wesley against her husband, but not to be compared in length with some others, e.g. those to Dr. Lavington and William Law. There are nine letters to Joseph Cownley, five to Duncan Wright, four to Thomas Hanson, and seventeen to R. Brackenbury. There are also letters from Mrs. Susanna Wesley, Samuel Wesley, Charles Wesley, William Grimshaw, Adam Clarke, and Benson, and a very long letter from Miss E. Ritchie, dated 25th October 1786, on the Rev. John Fletcher's death. There is also a letter from Jane Austen, and one from Shelley. In addition to these letters there are: John Wesley's Notebook while at College, about 1722-3; Wesley's *Travelling Greek Testament*, Volume I; a *Hymn-book*,

¹ *Description of a Religious House.*

with tunes as sung at the Foundery; Adam Clarke's *Hebrew and Greek Testament* (bequeathed to his son); Samuel Bradburn's Ordination certificate; and Miss Ritchie's Class Ticket (1773). The disclosure of this early class ticket will gratify those few enthusiasts who specialize in the collection of class tickets issued prior to Mr. Wesley's death, and considering Miss Ritchie's close connexion with Mr. Wesley in his later years at City Road, and that she was present at his bedside when he died, the appropriate place for that ticket would be in a little frame hung on the wall of that bedroom where Mr. Wesley breathed his last. There are a few other articles such as Wedgwood medallions and medals. Altogether a very rich legacy.

In this article it is proposed to deal first with the letters to Joseph Cownley and then with two other unpublished letters, one to John Whitehead and one to Nancy Smith.

Telford published four letters to Mr. Cownley and of the collection of nine now before us only one is included in Mr. Telford's edition, viz., the one dated 12th April 1750. Mr. Cownley had been in Ireland and was now at Newcastle.

LONDON,

18th September 1750.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I did not receive yours till Sat. night. I am amazed no one had the honesty to tell *you* what they told *me*, even without asking. M. M. loves you as well as ever. Neither John Haughton nor I have any doubt of it. I will write to those who will have a fresh assurance of it from her own mouth. It was from his knowing this (as well as the extreme haughtiness of the other) that Brother Haughton was so greatly troubled for you. I will do all that lies in my power to remove every hindrance out of the way. And this I trust will easily be done. I liked her spirit as soon as I heard her speak tho' it was very little she spoke then. Commit thy way unto the Lord & He shall bring it to pass. As soon as ever you receive this set out and go by Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham & Evesham (at each of which you may spend a day or two, if you please) to Bristol. Peace be with your spirit. Adieu.

TO MR. C. WESLEY.

I wish you could talk a little with every Preacher & every Exhorter that comes in your way. Perhaps you may find some who are capable of being taken into the General Work. We have a blessed time here. The fields are white. Are they not so in the North also? Adieu.

Addressed to MR. COWNLEY

at the Orphan-House, in
Newcastle upon Tyne.

Charles Wesley was carrying out his proposed visit to the North whilst John had been in Cornwall and the West (*Letters*, III, 43). Mr. Cownley had been received by Mr. Wesley in 1746 and after labouring in the Midlands, Cornwall, and Newcastle, was appointed to Dublin in July 1748. At the end of that year he was transferred to Cork where he preached at the peril of his life. The

strain of this persecution told on his health and in the spring of 1750 he returned to the Orphan House at Newcastle but went back to Ireland at the end of the year. Who was M. M.? Is it possible that she was the *niece* of James Massiot? In the letter to John Baily, Rector of Kilcully, Cork, written from Limerick on 8th June 1750, occurs the passage: 'This worthy witness falls foul upon Mr. Cownley, and miserably murders a tale he has got by the end. Sir, Mr. M(assiot) is nothing obliged to you for bringing the character of his niece into question. He is perfectly satisfied that Mr. Cownley acted in that whole affair with the strictest regard both to honour and conscience.' In October 1755 Cownley married Miss Massiot of Cork.

Whilst Cownley was in Ireland he received the following letter from Mr. Wesley:

BRISTOL,
3rd October 1751.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I hear a good report of you. It unites my heart to you more than ever. O follow peace with all men. Say nothing either in publick or in private, which can be called 'Reflecting upon the Church'. If you could talk mildly with Mr. N—— it would do well. May God increase your strength, both of soul & body. I am,

Your affectionate brother,
J. WESLEY.

In June 1751 James Wheatley, one of Wesley's preachers, had misbehaved himself and the Wesleys suspended him (*Letters*, III, 69). As a consequence of Wheatley's immorality it fell to Charles Wesley 'to examine strictly into the life and moral behaviour of every preacher in connexion with us'. During these anxious weeks much correspondence passed between the brothers and on 17th July John wrote: 'I fear for C. S. and J. C. more and more. I have heard they frequently and bitterly rail against the Church.' In reply Charles put the following query: 'What assurance can we have that they will not forsake it, at least when we are dead?' C. S. (Charles Skelton) left Wesley in 1754 and became an Independent minister in Southwark, but J. C. (Joseph Cownley) continued a Methodist till his death.

Two months later the following letter was sent to Mr. Cownley:

LONDON,
14th December 1751.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

A guinea a quarter, paid or unpaid, will make no great difference. Peggy Jackson constantly pays it here. With what remains you must pay the printer as fast as you can. Pray let the Books be regularly dispersed everywhere, & let the Preachers now & then speak expressly to each Society & recommend the reading of them. I believe we can send with the other books, two sets more of the *Xtian Library*. Most of the Societies have subscribed for a set for the use of the Preacher resident with them.

I hope brother Gilbert is now with you, as well as Joseph Tucker. Peace be with you all. I am,

Your affectionate brother,
J. WESLEY.

For what the guinea a quarter was to be paid is not evident, nor is any reference to Peggy Jackson known to the writer. Wesley lost no opportunity of advising his preachers to read and sell the books and tracts he was constantly publishing. The *Christian Library* was begun in 1749 and completed in 1755, and in the preface Wesley affirms his belief 'that there is not in the world a more complete body of divinity than is now extant in the English tongue in the writings of the last and present century'. His endeavour was to 'extract such a collection of divinity as was all true; all agreeable to the oracles of God; all practical, unmixed with controversy; and all intelligible to plain men'. The good example set by the early Societies is one that might well be copied in these times.

In 1752 Wesley spent twelve weeks in Ireland and in our next letter refers to other brethren who were associated in the Round with Cownley.

LONDON,
17th February 1753.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I hope John Edwards is now in your Round. The Conference cannot be before the middle of May, so if he sets out from Athlone on the first of May he will be in Leeds as soon as me.

I am glad Bro. Skelton is with Bro. Fisher. He cannot supply Cork alone, nor Paul Greenwood, Dublin: at least not long together, as I wrote before. I commend you for throwing up your salaries. They must have been attended with ill consequences.

Have you talked particularly with J. Alexander and Mrs. Folliot? Prejudice (for or against persons) is your weak side. If not, I beg you would do it without delay. Hear no longer with other people's ears.

As to the point in general (tho' we need not say so much in publick, because of accidental ill consequences), nothing under heaven can be clearer than this: 1, that Adultery does in the moment dissolve the marriage tie, as much as if the offender had then died; 2, that *Divorce* is only an open declaration of that dissolution; 3, that the *method* of Divorce now used in England and Ireland is so vile & clogged with so many diabolical additions, that no honest man would care to meddle with it. I should myself be so far from *seeking* it (in the case of adultery), that I should scruple to *submit* to it.

I know nothing of John Haughton's preaching. You heard all that I heard or said at Limerick. I am,

Your affectionate friend and brother,
J. WESLEY.

Wesley speaks his mind quite frankly to his preachers and his advice is kindly and sound. It would appear as if some ill rumours were afloat about J. Alexander and Mrs. Folliot and Cownley must see the persons themselves and hear

what they have to say and not to act upon mere hearsay. Does Mr. Wesley mean that the wronged husband or wife in a case of adultery is morally free from the marriage tie? Else why the assertion 'as much as if the offender had then died'? Yet the divorce laws of the time were of such a nature that no honest man would avail himself of them. A very awkward situation for the innocent partner.

The Conference met at Leeds on 22nd May and John Edwards was there and asked for a permanent appointment to Leeds. The request was refused but he was appointed to Leeds for six months only. At the end of that period he refused to move and was ejected. He settled at Leeds and formed an Independent church of which he became the pastor, and ministered there for about thirty years. Of Paul Greenwood it may be noted that later in 1760 he was one of the preachers at Norwich who on their own initiative began to administer the sacrament.

Mr. Cownley's labours had sorely overtaxed his strength; he had 'fallen into a languid habit of body, which was succeeded by a malignant fever' and his life was endangered. This letter of sympathy and practical advice was received by him from Mr. Wesley:

CAMELFORD,
17th September 1755.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

If you are prudent this illness may be a means of your having better health as long as you live. A fever is the noblest medicine in the world, if a man does not die in the operation. Very probably you may now recover your sleep. But you must be as regular as a clock; in meat and drink, rising and lying down, & particularly in daily exercise.

The great hindrance of your spiritual health in time past was, Want of seriousness. You used to laugh and cause laughter. Happy would it be if this were to be no more. If you were upon principle to abstain from all jesting & to avoid it with the utmost care. 'Be serious.' Let this be your motto. Your reason for it is 'Christ died for me'. I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

J. WESLEY.

My best service attends Lady Piers & Mr. Howard.

Cownley was married at Cork in October 1755 but had a recurrence of his illness. From a letter written to him by Mr. Wesley on 10th January 1756 (*Letters*, III, 154), we learn that part of the treatment had been the application of a blister. Cownley removed to Dublin at the beginning of 1756 and in October to the Orphan House, Newcastle, whence he again applied to Mr. Wesley. He received the following reply:

LIVERPOOL,
23rd April 1757.

DEAR JOSEPH,

Your letter came to me here. Ted Perronet says Dr. Turner expects no fee at all but will do you all the service he can. I sent to the Dr. before I left

London. He said he had wrote you his thoughts on your case at large, but had not yet had time to transcribe them. But he does not think it a desperate case. When I talked with him concerning it he said 1. No physician hitherto seems to have understood it 2. A proper course of medicines will probably remove the whole disorder and if not 3. an entire milk diet will hardly fail to restore your health. I will write to London that he may send his thoughts directly. Meantime I advise you to apply (not a murdering blister, but) a large treacle plaster to your head, renewing it in twelve hours if you find any benefit. If after all Dr. Turner does not cure you, I am *almost certain* electrifying will. Courage, Joseph! I trust your deliverance draws nigh! If it does, be not less but tenfold more serious. With love to Suky, I am,

Your affectionate friend and brother,
J. WESLEY.

Ten days hence I go to Manchester & then to Leeds. At Manchester we have an electrifying machine.

I am obliged by the state of things there to go into Yorkshire before I go to Scotland. Therefore I shall not be at Berwick till June 9: at Alnwick till Sat. June 11th, nor at Morpeth, Placey, and Newcastle till June 13th.

In a letter to his brother Charles, 31st December 1764, Mr. Wesley wrote: 'You know doctors differ. I could trust Dr. Turner as well as any.' In a letter from Blackheath on 17th July 1683 Charles wrote: 'When Miss Freeman is here we should strongly recommend Dr. Turner as the first man of the Faculty for hitting the patient's case and for healing with very little physic. I have reason to praise one who, under God, has added thirty years to my life' (*Letters*, IV, 280).

At Liverpool Mr. Wesley spent nearly a fortnight, as James Scholefield, an expelled itinerant, had caused considerable dissension in the Society. A comparison with the dates in the *Journal* shows that Mr. Wesley had made an accurate forecast of his journey from Berwick to Newcastle.

A gap of thirty-one years intervenes before there is another extant letter to Cownley. That, dated 12th October 1788, is given in Telford's *Letters*, VIII, 97, and has the following passage: 'Dr. Coke did forget, but is now writing your letter of Orders.' In 1785 Wesley ordained three men to minister in Scotland, others in following years. Joseph Cownley, ordained on Wednesday 4th June 1788, and now at Edinburgh, is anxious to have his full credentials. There are two further letters in Dr. Riggall's collection later than the one just quoted. The first is addressed

TO THE REVd. MR. COWNLEY
AT THE METHODIST CHAPPEL
IN GLASGOW.

LONDON,
14th February 1789.

DEAR JOSEPH,

This is odd enough! *You* condemn me for what I did wholly & solely for *your* sake. I doubted of James Ridley (tho' I firmly believe him to be an honest man, notwithstanding Rd. Barlow's bitter prejudice against him) yet

as you wish so pressing for help I sent you the best I had till we could find better.

But in this point I am quite of Bro. Barlow's mind. He ought to go directly to Manchester and to make a full end with the Commissioners as soon as possible. Till this is done he cannot have a place among the Methodist Preachers.

'Those of our Brethren (you say) who think they should *share your authority* in appointing Preachers' — None *share* it at present, I retain & cannot but retain it *alone* as long as I live. Then it will devolve on the *Conference*: but not till I am removed.

Dear Joseph,

Adieu.

Mr. Cownley was finding the work more than he could manage, but was dissatisfied with the helper Mr. Wesley sent. Richard Barlow represented Manchester at the Booth Bank Quarterly Meeting. In 1784 the *Deed of Declaration* was signed and provoked much discussion at the Conference at Leeds that year. Mr. Wesley was then eighty-one and had held the reins of government in his own hands from the beginning, wellnigh fifty years. Preachers were beginning to ask for a larger share in the affairs of the Connexion and Cownley had voiced the feelings of many of his brethren, opinions in which he shared. The last paragraph of the letter fully expresses the determination of Mr. Wesley to retain to the end the authority he had held so long.

Mr. Cownley's health again gave way and he left Scotland suddenly for Newcastle. His removal must have brought him a note of reproof from Mr. Wesley but Mr. Cownley's explanation called forth the following kindly answer.

LONDON,

10th October 1789.

DEAR JOSEPH,

At first I was a good deal displeased when I heard you was returned to England. But I am fully satisfied by your last letter. You returned in good time. I am glad to hear your disorder is the gout. If so there is a cure. When you catch it in your feet apply warm treacle in brown paper changing it (if not sound before) every twelve hours. I am,

Dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother

J. WESLEY.

Mr. Cownley continued to live and work in Newcastle and the neighbourhood, but did not long survive his venerable chief, dying in October 1792.

There are two letters in the collection that are of interest as they add a little to our information about Dr. Whitehead's early years. As physician to Mr. Wesley and an executor of his Will Dr. Whitehead played a conspicuous part in the months immediately following Mr. Wesley's death, and the facts of the later years of his life are well documented. In 1765 John Whitehead was received as an itinerant by Mr. Wesley; in 1766 he laboured in Ireland, in 1767 in Lancashire, and in 1769 in Bristol. In a letter to Joseph Benson (2nd

January 1769), then classical master at Kingswood School, Mr. Wesley writes 'In the meantime let John Whitehead learn all he can.' Further, in a letter to Mr. Whitehead, dated 4th July 1769 (*Letters*, V, 141), Mr. Wesley says: 'When you mentioned first your apprehension that you could manage the Kingswood School, and then your thoughts concerning Nancy Smith, it seemed to me that there might be a providential connexion between the one and the other—though not to the exclusion of James Hindmarsh: that I never thought of.' In a footnote Mr. Telford adds: 'Mr. Smith was an apothecary at Bristol. Did Whitehead marry his daughter?' A letter addressed to Mr. Whitehead at the New Room, Bristol, 27th January 1770, concludes: 'I hope you spend a little time (you and Brother Thomas) with our children at Kingswood . . . I am, with love to Sister Whitehead, Your affectionate friend and brother.' From the reference to Sister Whitehead it is reasonable to infer that in the interval between the two letters just quoted Whitehead married, and if not to Nancy Smith, it would have been strangely out of place for him to have remained in Bristol where Mr. Smith was an apothecary. This view is surely borne out by the two letters now published for the first time.

KILKENNY,
16th June 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

What you propose concerning the school I like well. With the assistance of those lads I hope you will be sufficient for it, and if you undertake the charge you will persevere therein & not be running away in a year or two. I do not wish you to meddle with it at all unless you purpose to stay there.

I say nothing one way or other concerning your marrying. But I think it exceeding strange. Do nothing without much prayer. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother,
J. WESLEY.

KILKENNY,
16th June, 1769.

MY DEAR SISTER,

The more I love you the more afraid I am to determine hastily in what so nearly concerns you. Nothing in this world can so nearly concern you.

'Tis pain or pleasure, joy or strife,

'Tis all the colour of remaining Life.

I want you to be happy every moment & to employ every hour as a candidate for glory. But what to say of this odd incident I know not. Only I know do what you will I shall still love you. And whether single or married, you may have the use of my rooms at Kingswood or my wife's at Bristol. But I think you cannot make any engagement before we talk together. In your patience possess your soul. And hide nothing from, My dear Nancy,

Your affectionate brother,
J. WESLEY.

Though these appear as two separate letters they are written on the two halves of the same sheet of paper and by someone that sheet has, because of

fraying where the seal has been, been pasted on to another sheet of paper. On holding up to the light the address can be clearly made out. It is

TO MRS. ANN SMITH,
AT THE NEW ROOM,
IN BRISTOL.

Taking all these letters into consideration it would seem fairly safe to conclude that John Whitehead did marry Ann Smith, the daughter of the apothecary, and learned some of his profession from his father-in-law, though he later continued his medical studies on the Continent.

C. POLLARD

LITERATURE AND COMMERCE

THE growing commercialism of literature during the last fifty years has been a deplorable fact. But, like other historical developments, it must be studied against the background of wider events if it is to be understood and the possible remedy sought. The world of letters is peculiarly sensitive to political, social, and economic influences, not only as these involve changes in literary fashion, but as they affect the whole basis of literary output and production. As one who has had first-hand experience, both of authorship and of publishing, I propose, therefore, to glance at conditions in the book trade as they have been transformed since 1900; as they stand at the moment; and as they may become, if certain tendencies persist, in the future.

When the new century opened, the first-fruits of popular education had only recently begun to appear. By the literary standards then prevailing, those first-fruits were necessarily raw, and publishers of established repute, many of whom were conservative by nature and had fallen into comfortable ruts during a long period of tranquillity, regarded them with disdain. In the journalistic field, enterprising young men like Newnes, Pearson, and Harmsworth were quick to see the commercial possibilities which lay in satisfying, or exploiting, the new multitude of the semi-educated, and the *Tit-Bits*, *Answers*, and *Daily Mail* of forty-odd years ago, solid and staid as they might now seem, were daring ventures whose immediate success gave conservatism a rude shock. The shock was felt not merely in the ranks of the older journalism. If less violently than Fleet Street, Paternoster Row was also shaken, and it was not long before book writers and publishers of a new type sprang up, catering for the tastes, not of the cultivated social minority who had hitherto constituted the staple reading public, but of the many who, having just acquired the reading habit, desired sentimentality and sensation. Nevertheless, the majority of existing publishers, themselves well-educated men who valued culture for its own sake, persisted placidly awhile in their old ways, taking pride in issuing works of intrinsic literary or scholarly merit, and refusing to send forth any novel that might bring a blush to maidenly cheeks.

Newer publishers, with more vulgar aims and methods, might plough a new field; the old field was still adequate for the older firms, since costs of production,

office maintenance, and warehousing had not yet seriously risen. True, those low costs were made possible only by a low standard of wages in the publishers' offices as well as in the printing, binding, and other industries upon which publishing depends; and here we touch sensitive ground, for it has to be admitted that the 'palmy old days' were economically palmy only for the few. Alas! that evil in one sphere of life should spell health in another, and that the remedy of previous injustice should in turn produce an ill potentially as serious in its ultimate effects upon society. In this matter the book world is, truly, a microcosm of the world at large, in which the still unsolved problem is to level up without too dangerous a levelling down.

Whatever the moral, the facts are indisputable. Cheap wages and costs enabled publishers — who, however lofty-minded, cannot be philanthropists — to make a living by turning out worthy books in all departments of literature. A book had to sell only a few hundred copies to pay its way; and it could be kept in stock while it continued to sell at all. Under these happy conditions it was far easier than it has since become for creative or reflective writers of the quieter kind — writers who obey their own inner light — to get into print; and an author's reputation, modest though it might be, had opportunity to consolidate, since his previous works would still be available, and might receive fresh impetus, when a new volume appeared from his pen. Hasty 'remaindering' had not yet become for the publisher a serious temptation or an economic necessity. The lifeblood of literature circulated freely, and not only in the literary Press, but in most of the morning and excellent evening newspapers of that time, books were reviewed at length, in a sober yet catholic spirit. Readers were treated as intelligent beings, who desired serious guidance, not mere entertainment or 'thrills'. Nor, broadly speaking, was there any attempt to dragoon or to canalize literary taste for ulterior ends.

By 1908, however, when I began my own apprenticeship to publishing, change was everywhere getting into its stride. A 'straw' showing the direction of the rising wind was the substitution, first of plain printed dust-jackets, then of coloured illustrated ones, for the tissue paper which hitherto had been universal. On the new dust-jackets were 'blurbs', often extravagantly phrased in the hope of luring the greatest possible number of readers. The time-spirit was penetrating even to the older publishing houses. Fashions in morals — or taboos — were rapidly altering: for good or ill — probably a mixture of both! — greater freedom of expression, especially on sexual matters, was becoming the order of the day. Those publishers who, through habit or scruple, failed to march with 'progress' began to find themselves left behind, where new blood, entering the older firms, did not effect the necessary revolution.

The former line between the 'older' publishing and the 'new' became less clear-cut, and the blurring process was speeded by the literary agent. Before his entry upon the scene, publishers and authors had dealt directly with each other, often as intimate friends. Not all writers were satisfied with the prices they obtained, and some were hard bargainers on their own account. The majority, however, were not grasping and were well content to have all their books produced under the same imprint. The literary agent, offering to undertake the author's business for him, and often proving that he could secure better terms from another firm, changed all this. A new element of competition was

now introduced. The older publishers could no longer rely on keeping their 'regular' authors, and were forced in their turn to curry favour with the literary agent, who, playing off one publisher against another, often extorted, on behalf of some well-known writer, 'advances' that might never be fully earned by royalties. Authors of all but complete integrity, having tasted greater financial reward, were tempted to pander to the wider and less discriminating public in order still further to swell their gains.

Both authorship and publishing began to be less of a vocation and more of a trade, though there was one redeeming feature in the general picture. Some publishers discovered that profit lay in appealing, not to the worst, but to the best in the newly-educated. Many series of standard books — most notable among which, of course, were *Everyman's Library* and *The World's Classics* — were successfully launched: though again we must sadly reflect that the tasteful production of literary masterpieces at a shilling a volume — a thing so inherently good — was practicable only because of low wages.

When war broke out in 1914 it seemed at first that there would be a catastrophic decline of interest in books. Events proved otherwise. After an initial lull, there was soon a lively call for works dealing with the war itself and with the problems of reconstruction that peace would bring. The outstanding demand, however, was for fiction, and (since the Victorian conventionalities and restraints no longer held sway and the war had brought its own lowering of moral standards) for fiction not always of the most wholesome kind. Publishers found difficulty in getting adequate supplies of paper, even of the poorest kind. (New methods of manufacturing paper have since been developed.) They therefore restricted their output mainly to those classes of book for which the wider public clamoured, and this policy was rendered even more expedient by the steep rise in wages and costs. Even the best firms had to reject many quiet works of more solid value in favour of topical treatises, war propaganda, or novels of the lighter (if not the more salacious) type.

After the war, wages and costs of production fell, but to nothing like their pre-1914 level. Publishers, however sadly in many instances, had to face permanently changed conditions. The 'new' public was still far, in the main, from having developed sound taste; the 'old' public no longer offered a sufficiently remunerative clientele. The better publishers continued, so far as possible, to cater for the cultured; but the larger circle of readers could not be ignored now that a book, to pay its way, had to sell so many more copies than formerly. Nor, as before the war, could works, however deserving, be kept long in print if the demand for them was small or slow. This meant that some books of the most worthy kind, which often require time to reach their public, never had a real chance.

Other factors induced publishers to concentrate increasingly on potential 'best-sellers'. The newly-educated masses lacked the faculty to think and choose for themselves; the gregarious instinct made them anxious to be in the fashion by reading 'the book of the moment'. The circulating libraries had grown vastly in range; but since they were essentially commercial concerns, well satisfied to make one volume serve as many of their clients as possible, their influence further accentuated the prevailing trend, which was fostered, again, if with somewhat greater respect for literary taste, by the various book clubs and

societies now springing up. More and more the public became spoon-fed, reading what it was told to read by those who had vested interests. To mesmerize the public into accepting their wares as 'outstanding successes' or 'sensational triumphs' of the season became the desire of every author and publisher with not too high a sense of his calling.

Thus began clamorous advertising and a lamentable decay in honest, independent literary criticism. All newspapers save those deliberately catering for the minority — and such journals inevitably dwindled in number — now gave prior attention to books that had any chance of becoming the popular vogue. Certain well-known literary critics unofficially leagued themselves more closely with certain publishers than was right or salutary; and even some leading journals showed special favour, in reviewing books, to those publishers who advertised most largely in their columns. The free flow of literature, between the wars, was sorely hampered. Conditions had changed and were far from being easy. Patience, vision, and the long view were needed. Unfortunately not all authors, publishers, editors, and critics had the cause of true literature at heart. Too many were eager to turn the very difficulties for literature, conceived as art or culture, to their own immediate financial gain.

Then came the second World War. Its effects were far more complex than those of the first. Paper was stringently rationed to each publisher on a quota basis of his pre-1939 consumption, the purveyors of sound literature and of trash being treated impartially. No other method (except literary censorship) could have avoided the situation whereby copies of the classics, school textbooks, and even Bibles often became unobtainable while rubbishy new novels continued to appear in considerable numbers. The destruction in the blitz of several million volumes turned scarcity into famine. Yet, paradoxically, the demand for books rose to proportions never before known. That they were exempt from the purchase-tax made them increasingly popular as gifts; but the black-out and the relative absence of normal entertainments greatly stimulated and extended the reading habit.

Owing to the reduced size of newspapers, literary criticism was virtually suspended. The minimum of guidance — or of pressure! — could now be given to readers in their choice of books, and even those works that did secure notice in the Press might be out of print before the review appeared. Readers now had to select for themselves from the stock available at the local book shop or library, and so greatly did the demand exceed the supply that — for the first time! — booksellers found it as safe to stock 'non-popular' as popular types of work. The more solid fare now sold as easily as the lighter. The reason for this is not yet clear. Was the famine in books alone responsible? Or, deprived of their wonted amusements and forced to take such books as they could obtain, did many readers discover that they had finer taste than they (or those who catered for them) had imagined? And, if so, will that finer taste survive the return of more normal conditions? On the answer to these questions much may depend.

Despite the readier sale of books under war-time conditions — which, as I write, still substantially continue — authors, as a class, have suffered badly. Because of the paper shortage many writers have been unable to get their books published at all, while the equally severe rationing of newsprint has largely reduced their journalistic or 'serial' market. Not a few writers have been put

out of 'business' altogether, and have had to seek other occupations. True, when an author of normally modest sale *has* been lucky enough to get a book produced, the whole edition has probably been quickly exhausted! But against the abnormal success of one volume he has had to place the irritation and the loss of potential income due to his inability to get other completed manuscripts published while the going was good! As for more famous authors: not only have their first editions been necessarily restricted in size, but they have suffered heavy loss of royalties through the publishers' inability to keep earlier works in print.

Publishers, on the other hand, notwithstanding the paper shortage and many other irksome difficulties, have been in clover as never before. They have been able to turn out fewer 'titles', but practically every book produced — good, bad, or indifferent — has sold easily and quickly; and the crucial fact to remember is that it pays a publisher better to sell out complete editions of relatively few books than to issue a greater number of works which leave unsold stock on his hands. Since costs first seriously rose in 1914, unsold stock has been the publishers' main problem, and the experiences of the last seven years will probably make them even keener on producing such books as promise a rapid turnover.

There will, no doubt, continue to be honourable exceptions. Publishers with a sense of vocation will still have regard, so far as the changed circumstances allow, for literary merit or scholarship as such; and fortunately there are publishing concerns that do not exist merely for profit. Among these are the University Presses and the various religious denominational firms, who, happily, are now taking a broader cultural view of their calling than formerly. But by and large — in the absence of counteracting trends — publishers will be tempted to concentrate on works for which a 'popular' demand can be expected. Everything now conspires to make more difficult the production of books with only a limited or slowly-developing market.

If, as I have said, it be found, when peace-time conditions return, that the number of book-readers has permanently increased, and that there has been a corresponding improvement in the level of literary taste, publishers, finding a demand for better-class literature, will be ready to supply it; and tribute should be paid in passing to the excellent influence now being exerted by many free libraries. One thing is obvious: in the changed economic and social world of today, there must be a much bigger public for good books if these are to be forthcoming on the generous scale that was once possible. The moral for all who value sound literature and the freedom of the Press is clear. We must make our own influence felt. We must disdain passing fashions. We must refuse to be hypnotized by any kind of mass-suggestion. We must have the courage of our own taste and judgement, and must do all we can to support those authors, publishers, and editors who worthily attempt, against greater odds than of old, to provide literature that is independent, honest, and vital.

GILBERT THOMAS

CHARLES WESLEY'S DEBT TO MATTHEW HENRY

FEW PERSONS would think of going to the verbose *Commentary* of Matthew Henry for the elements of poetry.' In these words Thomas Jackson¹ introduces the subject of Charles Wesley's use of Matthew Henry's *Commentary* on the Bible in his *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures*. After quoting the introduction to the hymns, in which Wesley acknowledges his debt to 'Mr. Henry's Comment, Dr. Gell on the Pentateuch, and Bengelius on the New Testament', Jackson gives one illustration of Charles Wesley's use of the famous *Commentary*. The example is taken from a hymn based on Exodus xxxiv. 5, 6: 'Thy ceaseless unexhausted love.'² The words in the *Commentary* most closely reproduced in the hymn are: 'The springs of mercy are always full, the streams of mercy always flowing; there is mercy enough in God, enough for all, enough for each, enough for ever.'

Its streams the whole creation reach,
So plenteous is the store,
Enough for all, enough for each,
Enough for evermore.

In the hundred years since Thomas Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley* was published, this single example of Charles Wesley's dependence on Matthew Henry appears to have satisfied all subsequent writers on the hymns.³ The chapter in question from Thomas Jackson is quoted by Dr. George Osborn,⁴ the Reverend Richard Green,⁵ Dr. Henry Bett,⁶ and Dr. J. E. Rattenbury,⁷ while the last two named authorities both give the comment and hymn based on Exodus xxxiv. 5, 6, to illustrate the use Wesley made of the *Commentary*. Dr. Bett,⁸ after giving an example of Charles Wesley's use of Bengel's *Gnomon*, writes: 'There is at least one other hymn which is indebted to a famous commentary', and then quotes as above from Thomas Jackson. Dr. Rattenbury⁹ endorses Jackson's disparaging attitude to Matthew Henry in the words: "'Thy ceaseless unexhausted love", which is one of his richest hymns; in it he transfigured some rather commonplace remarks of Matthew Henry in his commentary on Exodus, xxxiv. 6ff. It will be seen that some of these 'commonplace remarks' did not require a high degree of transfiguration in order to become one of Charles Wesley's 'richest hymns'.

It appears to the present writer that Charles Wesley's debt to Matthew Henry has never been fully recognized, in spite of the acknowledgement made by Wesley in the preface to the *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy*

¹ *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*, by Thomas Jackson (1841), 2 volumes; see Vol. II. 199 f.

² Wesley originally wrote 'Thy *causeless* unexhausted love'. The word *causeless* was a reflection of Matthew Henry's emphasis upon the free grace of God in blessing his creatures.

³ It is possible that Thomas Jackson himself was quoting from a contemporary writer in giving his one example of Charles Wesley's use of the *Commentary*; see *The Life of Isaac Watts*, by Rev. Thomas Milner (1834), p. 274: 'The favourite couplet, "Enough for all, enough for each, Enough for ever(more)", is one of the felicitous expressions of Matthew Henry.'

⁴ *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley* (1870). See the 'Advertisement' to Vol. IX.

⁵ *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography* (1896); see p. 122.

⁶ *The Hymns of Methodism* (3rd edition, 1945), see p. 97.

⁷ *The Evangelical Doctrines of Charles Wesley's Hymns* (1941), see p. 150.

⁸ loc. cit.

⁹ p. 150.

Scriptures, and that this is particularly the case in some of the interpretations of Scripture contained in the hymns and regarded as characteristic of the hymn writer.

In the present essay one or two examples of Charles Wesley's dependence upon Matthew Henry will first be given, these being taken not from forgotten verses but from hymns still in common use. Secondly, an attempt will be made to show that some of Wesley's interpretations of Scripture, and especially some that have been commented upon by other writers, are taken from Matthew Henry. Thirdly, an example will be given from one of Wesley's most famous hymns, written many years before the publication of the *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures*, of the use of Matthew Henry's *Commentary* to enrich one of Wesley's greatest hymn themes. Finally, some possible reasons for the neglect of Matthew Henry and his influence upon the hymns of Charles Wesley will be suggested.

'A charge to keep I have' is a hymn still sung by Methodist congregations, even if a little less frequently and fervently than was once the case. The hymn is based on Leviticus viii. 35, '... keep the charge of the Lord, that ye die not'. The commentary of Matthew Henry upon the verse is as follows: 'They attended to "keep the charge of the Lord". We have every one of us a charge to keep, an eternal God to glorify, an immortal soul to provide for, needful duty to be done, our generation to serve; and it must be our daily care to keep this charge, for it is the charge of the Lord, our Master, who will shortly call us to an account about it, and it is at our peril if we neglect it. Keep it that ye die not: it is death eternal death, to betray the truth we are charged with; by the consideration of this we must be kept in awe.'

The hymn could hardly follow the comment more closely than is the case. We might be pardoned for thinking that at least the line 'to serve the present age' was a direct expression of that spirit of urgency so characteristic of the whole of the work of the Wesleys, and so indeed it was, but it was Matthew Henry who suggested it here, as he did almost every other line of the hymn:

A charge to keep I have,
A God to glorify,
A never-dying soul to save,
And fit it for the sky;

To serve the present age,
My calling to fulfil:
O may it all my powers engage
To do my Master's will!

Arm me with jealous care
As in thy sight to live;
And O Thy servant, Lord, prepare
A strict account to give!

Help me to watch and pray,
And on Thyself rely,
Assured, if I my trust betray,
I shall for ever die.

Another fine hymn of Charles Wesley's is based on the account of the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire which guided the Israelites in the desert Exodus xiii. 21.

Captain of Israel's host, and Guide
Of all who seek the land above,
Beneath Thy shadow we abide,
The cloud of Thy protecting love;
Our strength, Thy grace; our rule, Thy word;
Our end, the glory of the Lord.

By Thine unerring Spirit led,
We shall not in the desert stray;
We shall not full direction need,
Nor miss our providential way;
As far from danger as from fear,
While love, almighty love, is near.

Matthew Henry on the same passage comments: 'They need not fear missing their way who were thus led, nor being lost who were thus directed. . . . They who make the glory of God their end, and the word of God their rule, the Spirit of God the guide of their affections, and the providence of God the guide of their affairs, may be confident that "the Lord goes before them. . . ."'

Dr. Henry Bett, in his fascinating book, *The Hymns of Methodism*, has a number of illustrations in Chapter 6, 'The Hymns and the Scriptures', of Charles Wesley's association of one verse of the Bible with another, as well as several instances of the appreciation of small points in the original languages of the Old and New Testaments, all of which enrich the hymns. It is no detraction from Charles Wesley's genius as a hymn writer to discover that many of these points are suggested by Matthew Henry, for Wesley himself acknowledges his debt to the *Commentary*. One such example is provided by the verse:

Jesus, confirm my heart's desire
To work, and speak, and think for Thee;
Still let me guard the holy fire,
And still stir up Thy gift in me.

Dr. Bett points out¹ that the appropriateness of the words from 2 Timothy i. 6 'stir up the gift of God that is in thee', to a hymn which is based upon Leviticus vi. 13: 'Fire shall be kept burning upon the altar continually', depends upon the understanding of the unusual Greek word translated 'stir up', for this word ἀναζωπυρεῖν means 'to stir up a fire'. Hence Dr. Bett writes: 'Unquestionably, it was this remembrance of the original sense of ἀναζωπυρεῖν, which suggested the particular form of the lines:

Still let me guard the holy fire,
And still stir up Thy gift in me.'

No one will dispute Dr. Bett's contention that the appropriateness of the two verses was immediately understood by Wesley, but the credit for associating

¹ pp. 87f.

'stir up
to Ma
vi. 13
positi
so as
quenc
And
of the

Writin
dying
phras
that M
saying
doubt

Henry
to the
Jews
Th
ix. 6,
wher
first i
Auth
joy.'

Matt
read
follow
Ag

of Et
in Is
Matt
Eter
Bo
Wesl
almo
Wat
pass
Dr.
shad

'stir up', ἀναζωπυρεῖν, with the fire continually burning upon the altar must go to Matthew Henry and not to the hymn writer. The commentary on Leviticus vi. 13 reads: 'By this law we are taught to keep up in our minds a constant disposition to all acts of piety and devotion, an habitual affection to divine things, so as to be always ready to every good word and work. We must not only not quench the Spirit, but we must *stir up the gift* that is in us.'

Another interesting example is provided in a hymn in which Wesley speaks of the death of Moses:

Like Moses to Thyself convey,
And kiss my raptured soul away.

Writing on this hymn, Dr. Bett¹ points out that instead of speaking of Moses dying 'by the word of the Lord', the text in Deuteronomy has the unusual phrase 'by the mouth of the Lord'. This word led to the Rabbinical legend that Moses died by the kiss of God. Again, while no doubt Dr. Bett is right in saying that the Hebrew text was noted by Charles Wesley, there can be little doubt that it was Matthew Henry who was responsible for the form of his verse. Henry's comment on Deuteronomy xxxiv. 5 is as follows: 'He dies "according to the word of the Lord", "at the mouth of the Lord", so the word is. The Jews say, God sucked his soul out of his body with a kiss.'

There are two other instances of verses based upon Isaiah ix. 3 and Isaiah ix. 6, in which Dr. Bett² sees 'a clear remembrance of the Hebrew text', where Wesley is in reality dependent on the *Commentary* of Matthew Henry. The first is the verse in which the Revised Version omits the negative from the Authorized Version: 'Thou hast multiplied the nation and (not) increased the joy.' Wesley anticipates the revisers in the lines:

Thou, Lord, hast made Thy mercies known,
Hast added to the chosen race,
Enlarged, and multiplied thine own,
And filled their hearts with joy and praise.

Matthew Henry comments on the same verse: '... and "to him (so the Masorites read it) thou hast magnified the joy", to every one that receives the light. The following words favour this reading: "they joy before thee".'

Again, Dr. Bett sees a remembrance of the Hebrew in the line, 'The Father of Eternity', for this is the literal meaning of the words 'The Everlasting Father' in Isaiah ix. 6. In the *Commentary*, which Wesley had before him as he wrote, Matthew Henry notes, '3rd. He is the Everlasting Father; or, "The Father of Eternity".'

Both Dr. Rattenbury and the late Bernard Manning comment upon Charles Wesley's treatment of the Old Testament in his hymns; a treatment which is almost always christological and invariably evangelical. Manning writes: 'Dr. Watts provided evangelical interpretations for psalms and Old Testament passages and Wesley uses the same method, but with even greater boldness.' Dr. Rattenbury⁴ speaks of Wesley's use of the Old Testament as 'a book of shadows of which Jesus is the substance.' It is interesting to see how closely

¹ p. 78.

² p. 77.

³ *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts*, by Bernard L. Manning (1942); see pp. 61f.

⁴ p. 92.

Wesley follows Matthew Henry at just this point, for all that is said of his Old Testament interpretations can be said with equal justice of the *Commentary*. To take but one example which Dr. Rattenbury himself chooses as a 'typical comment';¹ it is from a hymn based on Exodus xvii. 10.

Jesus doth all the work alone,
Our Captain and High-Priest in one,
In Joshua fights, in Moses prays.

Matthew Henry on the same verse writes: 'No doubt it was a great encouragement to them to see Joshua before them in the field of battle, and Moses above them, on the top of the hill. Christ is both to us; our Joshua the captain of our salvation, that fights our battles; and our Moses, who in the upper world ever lives, making intercession, that our faith fail not.'

In Mr. Manning's volume of essays, *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts*, there is a discussion of the Authorized and Revised versions of Isaiah ix. 4, 5. He speaks² of the 'confused and magical mystery of the Christmas lesson' according to the Authorized Version: 'For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire.' 'Yet', says Mr. Manning, 'it is still worth while seeing what Wesley makes of the matter. Here is his paraphrase and his notion of the reality of the antithesis:

Thou hast our bonds in sunder broke,
Took all our load of guilt away;
From sin, the world, and Satan's yoke,
(Like Israel saved in Midian's day)
Redeem'd us by our conquering Lord,
Our Gideon, and His Spirit's sword.

Not like the warring sons of men,
With shout, and garments roll'd in blood,
Our Captain doth the fight maintain;
But lo! the burning Spirit of God
Kindles in each a secret fire,
And all our sins as smoke expire!

It is, as Mr. Manning writes, always worth while seeing what Charles Wesley makes of any passage of Scripture, but while the verses are the work of the poet, the interpretation is that of Matthew Henry (Isaiah ix. 4 ff.): 'The design of the Gospel, and the grace of it, is to break the yoke of sin and Satan . . . to free us from the rod of those oppressors, that we might be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God . . . this is done with the Spirit working like fire (Matthew iii. 11); not as the battle of the warrior is fought with confused noise; no, the weapons of our warfare are not carnal; but it is done with the spirit of judgement, the spirit of burning (Isaiah iv. 4). It is done as in the day of Midian, by a work of God upon the hearts of men. Christ is our Gideon; it is his sword that doth wonders.'

¹ p. 92.² p. 63.

Matthew Henry finished his *Commentary* as far as the Acts of the Apostles, the last book he reached, in 1712, two years before his death in 1714. The *Short Hymns* of Charles Wesley appeared in 1762, and John Wesley's *Notes on the Old Testament*, in which he used Matthew Henry's *Commentary* extensively, three years later, in 1765. Both brothers, therefore, must have studied Matthew Henry closely before using his work, the one in his *Hymns* and the other in his *Notes* in the 1760s. It would be surprising if this study had not left some marks on their works other than in the books in which they acknowledge their debt to him. Here we are concerned with the hymns of Charles Wesley, and there is evidence that in some of the greatest lines he ever wrote, 'Come, O Thou traveller unknown', published in 1742, Wesley remembered a comment of Matthew Henry's on Genesis xxxii. Much has been written on this great hymn, which illustrates the finest qualities of Wesley as a religious poet. Dr. Rattenbury writes:¹ 'So Charles Wesley is thinking of himself, not of Jacob, when he cries out:

Come, O thou Traveller unknown,
Whom still I hold but cannot see.

But much of Wesley's strength as a religious poet is that he so rarely indulges in reveries on his own experience after the manner of some hymn writers; all through the hymn he keeps a firm hold upon his subject which, however, illuminated in his own experience, is the story of Jacob. True, it is more than that, it is the epic of the Christian man in the moment of faith, confronting, and confronted by God, the Unknown. The hymn is full of paradox; weakness and strength, wrestling for the name and blessing of God and yet receiving that blessing as a free gift at the last. It is the thought of that paradox of our weakness becoming our strength that brings to Wesley's mind another wrestler, St. Paul, or perhaps we should say that it is St. Paul's wrestling with the thorn in the flesh which illuminates the Jacob story for Wesley at this point, and from the fifth verse this becomes one of the chief themes of the hymn:

What though my shrinking flesh complain,
And murmur to contend so long?
I rise superior to my pain,
When I am weak, then I am strong;
And when my all of strength shall fail,
I shall with the God-man prevail.

There can be little doubt that it was Matthew Henry who suggested introducing the words of St. Paul at this point, and so greatly enriching the hymn. The commentary on Genesis xxxii reads: 'Jacob prevailed, and yet had his thigh put out. Note, wrestling believers may obtain glorious victories, and yet come off with broken bones; for when they are weak, then are they strong, weak in themselves, but strong in Christ (2 Corinthians xii. 10).'

In Matthew Henry's final note on Genesis xxxii he returns to the comparison with St. Paul: 'He had no reason to look upon it as a reproach, thus to bear in his body "the marks of the Lord Jesus" (Galatians vi. 17); yet it might serve, like St. Paul's thorn in the flesh, to keep him from being lifted up with the abundance of the revelations.' And lastly, 'Notice is taken of the sun's rising

¹ p. 96.

upon him when he passed over Peniel; for it is sunrise with that soul that has communion with God.'

The Sun of righteousness on me
Hath rose with healing in his wings.

In seeking for the reasons for the comparative neglect of Matthew Henry, and especially by students of Wesley's hymns, we have probably to go back to Wesley's own day. John Wesley's *Notes on the Old Testament*, in which he acknowledges his debt to Matthew Henry,¹ were a failure. Adam Clarke² writes: '*The Notes on the Old Testament* are allowed on all hands to be meagre and unsatisfactory.' The partial explanation of this, offered by Adam Clarke, was that the printer Pine made a mistake in setting up the notes in too large a type, and had in consequence to cut down what Wesley had been at such pains to prepare. The Conference of 1781 recommended selling off surplus copies at half price, but even so there were 750 copies of each of the three volumes still unsold at Wesley's death in 1791.³ Thus, if the *Notes* had been printed as Wesley prepared them, and had been more widely read by the first Methodists, it is possible that they might have had a better opinion of Matthew Henry. But it must also be admitted, that while John Wesley speaks very highly of Henry's *Commentary* as the best available for his purpose in writing the *Notes*, yet he has several strictures upon the commentator, and adopts a rather disparaging attitude toward him in more than one entry in the *Journal*, declaring in opinion that the Father, Philip, was the greater man.⁴ Perhaps the grand reason for Wesley's disapproval was the fact that Matthew Henry was classed as a Calvinist.⁵ It would be impossible within the limits of this essay to attempt an examination of Matthew Henry's Calvinism, but it will be allowed that there were many kinds and degrees of Calvinist doctrine among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century divines, and a very slight acquaintance with the *Commentary* of Matthew Henry is sufficient to show that his Calvinism was certainly not of that sort which opposed the Wesleys so bitterly in their day. The following comments taken from the Gospels will illustrate my meaning. On St. Luke xiv. 15ff.: '... the riches of Christ are unsearchable and inexhaustible, there is in him enough for all and enough for each; and the Gospel excludes none that do not exclude themselves.' On St. Luke xxiv. 36ff.: 'None are exempted from the obligations the Gospel lays upon men to repent; nor are they excluded from those inestimable benefits which are included in the remission of sins, but those that by their unbelief and impenitency put a bar in their own door.' And, lastly, on St. John i. 6ff.: 'Observe, it was designed that all men through him might believe, excluding none from the kind and beneficial influences of his ministry that did not exclude themselves, as multitudes did who rejected the counsel of God against themselves, and so received the grace of God in vain.' This is surely not the Calvinism against which Charles Wesley wrote his polemic hymns, nor that against which John Wesley contended so strongly in his preaching.

Another reason for the neglect of Matthew Henry, particularly in relation to

¹ *Wesley's Works* (1872), 14 volumes; see Vol. XIV, pp. 246ff.

² See *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography*, Richard Green, p. 132.

³ *ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴ *Wesley's Works*, Vol. I, p. 347.

⁵ *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 347.

Charles
ward, (C
Method
The lite
ciated
show th
view.
Henry
Wesley
Some c
version
been c
writers
through
Whe
the Bib
entirely
finally
as 1841
[Wesley
Henry,
scienti
achieve
tions' t
Every
labour
uneasi
a comm
lead us
be no c
the tru

¹ The
² See,
Godfrey
his smal
Comment
³ The

Charles Wesley's hymns, was probably the desire, from Thomas Jackson onward, to magnify the reputation of Wesley as a poet, a reputation which Methodist writers have reason to believe has frequently been underestimated. The literary contribution of the Methodist revival has never been fully appreciated, and it is very natural that the followers of the Wesleys should seek to show the merits of the hymns from this, as well as from the religious point of view. But Thomas Jackson clearly regarded the connexion with Matthew Henry to be almost an embarrassment in this connexion: 'The genius of Charles Wesley, like the fabled philosopher's stone, could turn everything to gold. Some of his eminently beautiful hymns, strange as it may appear, are poetic versions of Henry's expository notes.'¹ While, therefore, Methodist writers have been eager to show Wesley's affinities with the English poets and classical writers, they have neglected his debt to one whose reputation steadily declined throughout the nineteenth century.

Whether these reasons for the neglect of one of the greatest commentaries on the Bible written in English carry any weight or not, it was the growth of an entirely different method in Biblical study in the nineteenth century which finally closed the pages of Matthew Henry to the great majority. Even as early as 1841 Jackson speaks of the 'verbose commentary', but it was not its verbosity (Wesley calls it 'full', not 'verbose', a nice distinction!) that 'dated' Matthew Henry, it was the whole method of approach, so vastly different from the 'scientific' method of the later nineteenth century. Today, in spite of the great achievements of the Biblical scholars of a century and a half, there are indications² that these commentators and scholars leave some things unsaid which 'Everyman', who is no specialist, asks of the Bible, and which the older writers laboured to expound. There are many besides Father Hebert who share his uneasiness about the Old Testament'.³ The hymns of Wesley are in themselves a commentary upon the Scriptures, and a revival of interest in the hymns must lead us to ask what value we can place upon their interpretations. There can be no doubt that Wesley's answer would be that of Matthew Henry: 'Christ is the true treasure hid in the field of the Old Testament.'⁴

A. KINGSLEY LLOYD

¹ *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.*, Vol. II, pp. 190ff.

² See, for example, *The Throne of David*, A. G. Hebert; *The Old Testament in the World Church*, Godfrey Phillips; and the books of Canon Phythian Adams. It is also interesting to note that in his small book, *Christ's Strange Work*, A. R. Vidlar has several references to Matthew Henry's Commentary.

³ *The Throne of David*, A. G. Hebert; see Chapter 1.

⁴ On St. Luke xxiv. 27.

Notes and Discussions

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN INDIA AND CEYLON GENERAL SYNOD 1946

MANY Christians have learned that life and thought move around the two focal points of the news of the daily paper and the Good News of the Bible. The present writer has for many years sought to live and preach on this basis, but the full truth of it never came home to him so poignantly as in February last. During the last week of that month the news of the world was grim enough; in India it was about as bad as could be. In many of the larger cities the spirit of violence, fanned white hot, issued in rioting, civil strife, and mutiny. Men of good will, whatever their allegiance, seemed impotent and without hope. Fear, hatred, and suspicion brooded over the land. No one knew what the morrow would bring. The news of the daily paper was dark indeed. Yet a hundred men and women, gathered in the city of Mysore, in the name of the Gospel, although knowing all these things, and deeply concerned about them, were yet not overcome by them. The very darkness of 'the news' only served to throw up in sharper relief the brightness of 'the good news'. Love cast out fear. A greater common purpose dissolved political tension and nationalistic suspicion. The members of the General Synod of the Methodist Church in India and Ceylon came to understand, perhaps as never before, how utterly true is the great word: 'This is the victory that hath overcome the world, even our faith.' When Dr. A. W. Harrison's letter, written before his death, was read to the Synod, he, being dead yet spoke to every heart in the central sentence of the charge: 'We are certain that we Christians have the secret of victory over evil.' That certainty, on the background of the tension of so much evil, was to dominate every session of the Synod and inform each decision.

District Synods are common occurrences among us: the Provincial Synods of the Mission Fields are fairly well known in the Home Church; but many may ask: What is this General Synod? In a sense it is the nearest thing to a Conference possible for a daughter Church owing allegiance to the British Conference, and yet with less legislative authority than a Leaders' Meeting. Although elected by and representative of the whole Church, it has no executive power and its resolutions can be regarded only as suggestions. Yet it is quite certain that herein the Church in India and Ceylon was expressing its full mind on matters of the greatest moment and that the findings will receive the closest attention in the courts of the Church both in Britain and overseas.

Reference to this anomaly will be made below. For the moment it is enough to say that in this General Synod the representatives of the seven Indian and the two Ceylonese Districts met in council with the delegation from the Mission House to consider the work of God in all its aspects and to report its findings to the Synod and the Missionary Committee. Circumstances prevented the Church in Burma having the full share originally planned, but we were happy to have three members of that brave and sorely tried Church with us, and it is certain that what was decided at the Synod will help the Methodists of Burma as they take up the long hard task of re-building.

The General Synod of 1946 is the third such to be held and a comparison of the form of this Synod with the last, in 1916, is highly suggestive. In 1916, Marshall Hartley, of the Mission House, presided, as by right, over a Synod of 42 members.

In 1946, the Synod of 98 members unanimously elected to the chair the Reverend Paul Ramaseshan of Madras, and no one supported the election more heartily than Marshall Hartley's successor in office. We did not forget that some months before, Paul Rangaramanujam, who represented Indian Methodism at the Uniting Conference of 1932, had been designated chairman, but the previous May our great Indian leader had passed from earth. The Synod of 1916 consisted of 27 European ministers, 14 national ministers and one Indian layman; that of 1946, apart from the three members of the Mission House delegation, had the same number of European ministers and 6 more nationals. The lay representation, however, had risen to 25 of whom 5 were European, together with no less than 23 women members of whom 9 were nationals. In regard to agenda, the nine themes considered in 1916 had risen to twenty-three in 1946. A moment's reflection will show how significant these figures are both in respect of the growth of the Indian Church and in regard to the course the Synod was likely to take.

It is obvious that a Synod of such importance must involve a great deal of preparation. In fact this meeting was the culmination of years of stocktaking and planning. Here the peak period is the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram in 1938 which both summed up the important developments of the previous decade and set all the Churches of the Mission Field to fresh consideration of policy and planning. Readers of Latourette's final volume will understand the inevitability of all this. In our own Church, the effects of Tambaram took the form of Commissions on the work of many of the Districts. The recommendations of these, together with excerpts from the Tambaram Report, have been summarized in an admirable document, 'The Church Militant', which provided the General Synod with its terms of reference.

The membership of the Synod was made up in the first place by six persons elected by each District, together with the Chairmen and Secretaries of the three Provincial Synods and the nine Chairmen of Districts. From this number was selected an executive committee responsible for the immediate planning of the Synod. It completed the membership of the Synod by co-opting 27 additional members with a view to adequate representation of every aspect of the life and work of the Church. After the programme of discussion was determined and the themes selected, each theme was entrusted to one person for the preparation of a paper. These papers, built up from answers to questionnaires sent to each District, were in due course sent to each member for study.

To secure the most effective use of time and to allow for the proper discussion of each theme, the executive worked out a method of business which was to prove of very great value, and which we outline here in some detail as being likely to prove of use in other councils. To each theme was allotted a session of about ninety minutes. The discussion was opened by the writer of the relevant paper who was allowed ten minutes. Anyone wishing to contribute to the discussion had to signify his intention to the Chairman, noting the points he wished to make. Each was allowed up to five minutes; a warning bell was rung a minute earlier and the irrevocable closure was accepted with good grace. Recorders were appointed to summarize the points made.

At the end of each day the drafting committee, consisting of a permanent nucleus together with a few 'experts' added for each theme, met to draw up a preamble and series of resolutions. The committee had before it the printed papers, resolutions of the Synods, records of discussion, and all other material likely to help to the finding of the full mind of the Church on each theme. The draft resolutions were printed and circulated and later discussed in full session, when amendments were voted on. Finally each preamble and set of resolutions were accepted unanimously and have been printed as the Findings and Recommendations of the General Synod.

It would be hard to find a better method of ensuring clarity of discussion and

efficiency of record. At all events we are confident that a Synod whose purpose it was to relate the organization and life of the Methodist Church to the rapidly changing conditions in India and Ceylon has expressed its corporate mind, to the best of its ability, on the wide issues involved.

The Findings of the Synod have already been summarized in the Methodist Press, and they occupy an important place in the exceedingly valuable Report of the recent secretarial visit to India and Ceylon. Copies will no doubt be available in this country and it is to be hoped that all who have at heart the interests of the Church overseas will consider what is there recorded. This is not the place to attempt to summarize the recommendations but to try to set out something of what they imply.

Mr. Hickman Johnson has rightly said that this Synod 'has marked the end of an epoch and the beginning of a new era'. The anomaly of the status of the Synod, mentioned above, was all the more marked in that the Synod had the intrinsic authority of a Conference without its form. The fact is that in these meetings we saw Methodism in India and Ceylon come to full self-consciousness as a Church. The struggle for freedom in India has had its effects and parallel in the past generation in the Church. On the whole, the wisdom of the Conference and the Missionary Committee has spared us much of the bitterness associated elsewhere with the tension between 'Mission' and 'Church', but we have had our moments of acerbity. Methodism in India and Ceylon has long been feeling that she is capable of directing her own affairs. Yet the dominant impression, looking back on the Synod, was the way in which legalistic discussion on 'autonomy' melted away in the sunshine of the gracious stress on 'partnership'. It is proper to speak of the growth of the Church from the status of *daughter* to that of *sister* because throughout the discussion the family motif was uppermost. What the politicians have been fighting over with such costly bitterness somehow emerged given in the household of faith. Never in the course of discussions, frank and lively as they were, was there cleavage between East and West. All who were present are sure that the concept and reality of 'integrated partnership' has come to stay. It is in this sense that we are to understand the following resolutions concerning 'The Developing Partnership':

The Synod expresses its satisfaction that in the whole movement towards devolution in our Church, the path taken was one whereby the Church and the Mission were knit together. The Synod desires to emphasize the full implications of this policy, and expresses the conviction that its consummation should be not merely devolution, that is, the transfer of machinery, administration and control; but integration, that is, the combining together of the responsibilities and resources of the Church here and overseas in the one fellowship and the common task of the Body of Christ. The Synod believes that this ideal of integration includes the autonomy of the indigenous Church, involving full freedom of decision, action and administration, and that the time has come for this ideal to be realized.

It is important to recognize that our brethren in India are in no way concerned with mere prestige; to obtain, as it were, an ecclesiastical counterpart of the political self-determination now being achieved. The great desire is that the Church in India shall be free to be the Church in the new India. It is proper that one missionary should here voice the knowledge of all his colleagues and say, with full sincerity and no shadow of patronage, that the Church in India is able to do and be this. The new era in India will offer the Church some advantages, but an even greater challenge. We believe that God has been raising men and women, these past one hundred and fifty years, who can and will match the hour. Were no other evidence available, the distinguished contribution of the Indian and Ceylonese members, and not least of the younger delegates, to the work of the Synod provides ample justification for this claim.

Let it not be thought, however, that Methodism in India no longer needs the help of her Western brethren. The task before her is so colossal that even our joint resources seem, humanly speaking, inadequate. For many years to come, all that can be provided in terms of manpower and money will be needed. Mr. H. W. S. Page has recently written, in these pages, of the meaning of the need for men. In respect of other needs it is significant that the Synod preferred to think in terms not of 'grants' but of gifts from the West to help increased giving in the East with a view to Methodism's common share in the evangelizing of the world.

In that phrase we reach the heart of the Synod. In every discussion, at every point of detail, the great concern was so to strengthen the life of the Church, and order its ministries, agencies, and institutions to enable it to assume full responsibility for evangelism. Everything that has been spoken and written, in recent months regarding the message and mission of Methodism had its echo in the General Synod in Mysore. As our brethren have been directing prayer and thought toward the conversion of England, so did we look toward the conversion of India and Ceylon.

No one who was present at the Synod, or who has read its findings, can be in any doubt that the dominant purpose of the Synod, which is implied in every paragraph, is properly expressed in the noble preamble to the section on Evangelism:

The Methodist Church of India and Ceylon can be content with no less an aim than that of seeking, in co-operation with other Churches, to win India and Ceylon for Christ. As we plan, therefore, for the future, we resolve to subordinate all other aims to this prime objective, so that no task may be accounted too hard and no sacrifice too great for its realization.

A. MARCUS WARD

WHO GETS PALESTINE?

NEARLY thirty years have passed since the Balfour Declaration was announced and the problem of Palestine seems to be as far from solution as ever. A new hope, however, has arisen from Mr. Ernest Bevin's statement that the issue is to be lifted out of the arena of Arab-Jew antagonism and set in the context of Jewish affairs generally.

For centuries the Jews have regarded Palestine as in some sense a national necessity as well as a religious home. During the Babylonian Captivity they kept up their spirits by chanting that 'a remnant shall return with singing unto Zion'. And after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersal of the people Zionism arose as a hope and an ideal. Through the centuries orthodox Jews have greeted one another with the words, 'Next year in Jerusalem'. Many hoped to die and be buried there.

It was the Tsarist pogroms that turned Zionism from a faint hope into a determined propaganda. Palestine became a necessity as providing an escape from persecution as well as a national home, a place in which not to die but to live. And the hour produced the man. Theodor Herzl, an Austrian Jew, put into a flaming pamphlet the case for a national home in Palestine, and urged that land should be bought and a Jewish State set up. The seed fell in good soil, and by the outbreak of the first World War more than 100,000 acres scattered over many parts of Palestine had been acquired, and more than 12,000 Jews had been planted on the soil. The propaganda went steadily forward until the autumn of 1917, when events took an unexpected and dramatic turn. Acetone, an essential element in the manufacture of the most powerful of the high explosives, was found to be unprocurable outside Germany. The British Government was at its wits end when Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a Jewish lecturer in the Chemistry Department of Manchester University, walked

into Whitehall and presented to the Prime Minister his process for making acetone from horse-chestnuts. On being pressed to name his reward his only reply was, 'All I care for is the opportunity to do something for my people', and shortly afterwards he laid before the Government a proposal for the recognition of Palestine as a Jewish National Home. Negotiation followed, and on 1st November 1917, when Allenby's army stood at the gates of Jerusalem, Mr. Balfour, in the name of the British Government, approved the proposal in the following terms:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people; and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

Near and far the Declaration was hailed as a far-sighted and Christian act. World Jewry, it seemed, was at last within sight of home. No longer would the Jews remain a people without a land, aliens everywhere. They would have a place where they belonged. And even though only a fraction of their millions would ever be able to live in Palestine, yet they could hold up their heads as members of a nation, with a land of their own. It only remained now for Jewish brains and Jewish capital to make the Palestinian wilderness rejoice and blossom as the rose.

But the Declaration had hardly been given to the world when trouble began. The Arabs to a man were in deadly opposition.

The Arab case is fourfold. First, that the Declaration is contrary to the natural rights of the Arabs, in that they have lived in Palestine, except for the period of the Crusades, for well over a thousand years, and that Arabs all over the world are closely concerned for the country, especially as Jerusalem is the third holiest city in the Moslem world. Second, that the Declaration violates the Mandate, in that, though the Arabs formed 93 per cent of the population, they were never consulted, and when they made strong representations their protests were ignored; that to assist the Jews to build up a National Home in such circumstances is contrary to the principle of national self-determination; that they are prepared to agree that the Jews should be free to enter Palestine and to enjoy civic equality and religious freedom, but that the country must remain an Arab land under Arab rule. Third, that the Declaration breaks the pledges Britain gave to the Arabs two years previously when Sir Henry McMahon, the High Commissioner in Egypt, promised Sherrif Hussein that the Arabs should have full independence if they would join forces with Britain. Fourth, that the backwardness of the country was due not to the laziness or improvidence of the Arabs, but to the poverty both of the soil and of the peasants, combined with absentee landlordism; and that to hand over the country to a people that for centuries had done nothing for it merely because international Jewry was able to bring pressure to bear upon the British Government was an abuse of international right and power.

The Arab fears of being thrust out of the land which they regard as their own are not entirely imaginary. The ownership of the soil is steadily passing out of their control into Jewish hands; an increasing number of their own people are becoming landless peasants; and the balance of the population is rapidly changing, the number of Jews in the country having increased tenfold in a little over twenty years. On the other hand, it must be recognized that the Arab case is not beyond criticism. 'If the Arabs go to the length of claiming Palestine as one of their countries in the same sense as Mesopotamia or Arabia proper is an Arab country', wrote Lord Milner, 'then I think they are flying in the face of facts, of all history, of all tradition, and of associations of the most important character — I had almost said the most sacred character.

Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter. You cannot ignore the fact that this is the cradle of two of the great religions of the world. It is a sacred land to the Arabs, but it is also a sacred land to the Jew and to the Christian.'

The Jewish case is sixfold. In the first place the Jews, in larger or smaller numbers, have lived in Palestine twice as long as the Arabs. They were the first of its settled inhabitants, and in spite of the vicissitudes of their history they have never been wholly absent. The newcomers are therefore not so much immigrants as nationals returning to their homes. This position is strengthened by the fact that in the consciousness of the civilized world Palestine is linked with the Jews rather than with the Arabs, and for the latter to refuse the Jews admission to the country would be to forfeit public sympathy. In the second place, the Balfour Declaration has the moral approval of the majority of mankind. It was put forward by Great Britain, but it was also approved by President Wilson, France, and Italy, and was subsequently embodied in the Palestine Mandate and ratified by the League of Nations. In the third place, every inch of land which is now in their possession the Jews have bought from the Arabs in the open market, or, in a few instances, leased from the Government. Much of that land was waste, and would have remained so had they not acquired and developed it. In the fourth place, the Arabs have benefited by the coming of the Jews, especially in the neighbourhood of the Jewish settlements. Sand-dunes have been irrigated and malarial swamps drained, and for the first time in centuries Palestine is a prosperous and progressive country, and the Arabs are sharing in the new wealth. In the fifth place, Palestine is rapidly becoming a land of enlightenment and culture. The immigrants are eager for education. Schools are being opened, a Hebrew university has been founded and is attracting scholars of international repute. An efficient health service has been set up, and the medical school, enriched by the presence of many medical men from Germany, is already famous. The story goes that at one time so many refugee doctors were arriving that a telegram had to be sent to the Jewish Emigration Office saying: 'Send no more doctors, send patients.' The Arabs have shared the benefits of this health service; their birth-rate has gone up and their death-rate down. In the sixth place, the Jews claim that they simply must be allowed to make their home in Palestine if they are to survive as a nation. Dr. Ruppin of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem says that the Jews demand the right to enter Palestine because it is the only place to which they have a national claim. That is not to say that millions of Jews will pour into Palestine; but it is to say that many more should go than are there today and that Palestine should become the spiritual home of the Jews and the symbol of their national life.

It is not surprising that, while these arguments were being pressed, neither side would yield an inch. The Arabs met every offer of a round-table conference with a flat refusal, while the Jews showed themselves, as Dryden said, 'a people whom no king could govern and no god could please'. The only way out of the *impasse* seemed to be by the appointment of a Royal Commission, which reported in July 1937, and recommended that Palestine be divided into three areas, a Jewish State, an Arab State, and a mandatory section, including Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem. The proposal was rejected out of hand by Jews and Arabs alike. After many abortive attempts to bring the two parties together the Government declared its own policy in a White Paper issued in May 1939 reaffirming the promise of a Jewish National Home, but limiting Jewish immigration and restricting the Jewish right to purchase land.

That was the position when the European war broke out. Both parties agreed to drop the controversy and to give adherence to the Allied cause, though both sides made use of the interim to collect arms and in other ways to prepare for a renewal of the struggle.

In July 1945 the Arabs issued a statement affirming their determination to stand by the White Paper of 1939. They declared their readiness to accept a Jewish cultural and spiritual home in Palestine, but they refused to abdicate their sovereign position as the rightful owners of the country. A month later the World Zionist Conference issued their manifesto declaring that the White Paper was issued without the approval of the League of Nations and had neither moral nor legal right. 'There can be no solution', they asserted, 'except by constituting Palestine, undivided and undiminished, as a Jewish state.'

Both sides refuse to abandon the position they took up before the war. Both seem to have overlooked the fact that 1946 is not 1939. During the war years Palestine has changed. It has become a cultural and spiritual home for the Jewish people; it has developed into a prosperous and progressive country; it now maintains over a million Arabs and more than half a million Jews; it has been associated with the large and successful operations of the Middle East Supply Centre; it has placed its products on the markets of the neighbouring countries and has in fact become a part of a larger whole. The Palestine of today is not the Palestine of 1939.

Hitherto it has seemed that there are only three possible courses. The first is that Palestine must remain an Arab State with a Jewish minority; the second is that it must become a Jewish State with an Arab minority, and the third is that the country must be partitioned, giving one part to the Arabs and another to the Jews, and a small third section, containing Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, to the British as the Mandatory power. The first the Jews will not accept; the second the Arabs flatly refuse to consider; and the third is generally regarded as illusory and superficial, creating as many problems as it solves. There is, however, a fourth possibility which has recently been put forward, namely, that of a bi-national state.

The chief advocate of this proposal is Professor L. J. Magnes, the Chancellor of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The ordinary Jew and the ordinary Arab, he affirms, have no hatred for one another. They live and work side by side in the towns and villages of Palestine without antagonism. The rivalry and opposition have arisen mainly from the political poison that has been injected into their common life. He holds that the ordinary inhabitants, whether Jew or Arab, want an unobstructed opportunity to go on with their business and will welcome the prospect of a reasonable settlement. He affirms with confidence that if it is laid down that Palestine will become neither an Arab State nor a Jewish State but a bi-national State, much of the present tension will immediately disappear. What each side fears is that it will be at the mercy of the other, but the proposal of a bi-national State *ex hypothesi* removes, or at least greatly reduces, that fear.

In bi-national or tri-national states experience shows that the arrangement will work if the majority and the minority nations have equal political rights before the law. In Switzerland, for example, people of three national groups live happily and constructively together on the basis of equal rights guaranteed under the constitution. In the new Palestine, therefore, both Arabs and Jews must be assured of equal rights and duties, no matter which of them is in the minority. Given this guarantee neither will dominate the other.

Two further things are necessary. First, this limited proposal for union within Palestine must be set within the larger framework of union (or federation) in the Middle East, as seems to be foreshadowed in Mr. Bevin's declaration. Second, the United Kingdom and the United States must agree to open their doors a little wider to homeless European Jews and not expect Palestine to receive them all. If these can be taken for granted, a bi-national solution is possible, and the outlook more hopeful than it has been for twenty-five years.

A. M. CHIRGWIN

A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN

It appears not to be generally realized that Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, who died recently at Amherst, Massachusetts, U.S.A., achieved a well-deserved fame in another, and surprisingly different, sphere than that of Woodrow Wilson's official biographer. The *Times*, for example, made no reference to it in the surprisingly brief announcement of his death. Baker was not only a journalist and writer of distinction in the world of politics but endeared himself to millions of pleasant people by the quiet, reflective essays he wrote under the pen-name of David Grayson. It may safely be guessed that for every reader of *Woodrow Wilson* there were a hundred of *Adventures in Contentment*.

Not that Baker himself was contented. How could one so sympathetic to Wilson's liberal ideas be that? He lived on into a world which to him must have seemed disappointingly subversive of all for which he most deeply cared. Dying at the age of 76, he had seen the Wilsonian ideals dragged in the mud. Yet, as the essays prove, he had long ago achieved an enviable serenity of mind. Through wishful thinking? Perhaps. The best thinking is wishful. Like many other Christian writers, he had resources to draw upon that were not of this world. In early life he broke with the coterie of revolutionary literary men (including Sinclair Lewis and Upton Sinclair) largely because he was convinced that their satire was sterile and their programme hopelessly materialistic. He saw a Gleam that was hidden from them, and followed it.

It was in January, 1910, at a dinner at the Hotel Astor in New York, that he first saw and heard Wilson. 'A Republican by tradition,' he later wrote, 'I had been interested for some years in the Progressive movement. I had no knowledge of Woodrow Wilson save as a notable college president whose campaign for the reconstruction of Princeton University was challenging popular attention. I considered Colonel Harvey's suggestion of Wilson for President sheer nonsense.' But to the New York dinner he came, and saw — and was conquered. Later that same year he spent an evening in Wilson's home, and again was immensely impressed, though he concluded, as he listened, that Wilson was 'too academic' for the hurly-burly of politics. As Governor of New Jersey, however, the college professor revealed unsuspected qualities; and when, in 1912, he went to the White House, he soon convinced the journalists, and Baker among them, that the greatness of his mind and spirit would match the greatness of the hour.

Baker had established himself as an influential newspaper man, notably through his contributions to *McClure's Magazine*. The President trusted his judgement — in itself no mean compliment; and when, in 1918, he needed a series of reliable and penetrating reports on economic and political conditions in England, France, and Italy, he called him to the Capitol and appointed him a Special Commissioner of the State Department. When the Peace Conference was planned it was Baker who became Director of the Press arrangements of the American Peace Commission, being thus given a position of great advantage for the biographical responsibilities that were to be placed upon him. Every afternoon in Paris, following the sessions of the Council of Ten or the Council of Four, and sometimes more frequently, he had access to the President and received his personal impressions and interpretations of the day's events. Possibly no other man had such intimate glimpses into Wilson's mind and character at that time. Out of that experience, supplemented by the fruits of his long training, he wrote *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement: A History of the Peace Conference*, which was published in 1923. Wilson discussed the work with him throughout the period of its composition, 'interpreting or commenting upon the documents' and 'explaining his own often difficult memoranda'.

During President Wilson's long last illness Baker was often at his bedside, and it was to him, naturally, that the statesman promised 'the first' — and if necessary exclusive — access 'to his personal correspondence and other similar papers'. The last letter he ever wrote — he was too ill to sign it — was to Baker, nine days before his death, making that provision. Whatever may be said in political criticism, there can be no doubt that the two monumental works, the public papers edited in six volumes in collaboration with Prof. William E. Dodd, of Chicago University, and *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* in eight volumes, fully justified the President's confidence in his interpreter. They remain, and will remain, indispensable to any study of the period or of the man of genius whom they delineate. If, in these hasty days, they seem to the general reader inordinately long, they will not appear so to the serious seeker after truth. The biography, documented with painstaking detail, enshrines a wealth of information that is as reliable as it is illuminating. Surely such conscientiousness is not a cause for reproach? If it is, the reproach must rebound upon the critics who launch it.

It was in 1907 that as 'David Grayson' Baker first offered in book form the adventures of his spirit. The little volume, *Adventures in Contentment*, published by Hodder and Stoughton in England, soon became a best-seller. During the first World War it soothed the frayed nerves of multitudes of grateful readers throughout the English-speaking world. As has happened so often in the long story of popular books, he had no idea when he began to write them that his records of 'quiet pilgrimages in country roads' would even make a book. But he had struck a vein that was to yield not one but several seams of pure gold — *Adventures in Friendship*, *Adventures in Understanding*, *Great Possessions*, *The Friendly Road*.

And then, all unexpectedly, Life seemed to have done with him. Weak and ill and alone, he found himself cut off from the world. He lay for months in a little room contemplating what at first seemed ruin and cessation. But it was out of that very experience that David Grayson wrote his finest, his most exhilarating book, *Adventures in Solitude*. His was the experience of St. Paul all over again: 'And He hath said unto me, "My grace is sufficient for thee: for my power is made perfect in weakness" . . . for when I am weak, then I am strong.' It is a central paradox of the Christian experience, demonstrated again and again, and not least in this book which tells of what happened to a writer who found what he had imagined to be defeat transformed into triumph.

Ray Stannard Baker did more than present in a memorable way the personality of a great statesman: he broke the bread of life for troubled souls with hands experienced in the sacrament of living.

R. G. BURNETT

THE TYRANNY OF METAPHOR

How large a part metaphor plays in our thinking, speaking, and writing, and how poor and thin our speech would be without its aid. Especially is this true in religious literature. In theology, sermons, hymns, and books on the devotional life, writers constantly resort to metaphor. We marvel at the skilful use of metaphor by Charles Wesley as we sing his hymns, and by John Bunyan as we read *Pilgrim's Progress*. We sing of Christ as the Light, the Life, the Bread, the Water, the Good Shepherd, the Kind Physician, the Sun of Righteousness, the Medicine of my broken heart, the Rock of Ages, the Tender Shepherd, to mention only some of the figures by which the Saviour's praise is set forth. Take the metaphors from our *Methodist Hymn-book* and what a gap we should leave.

Nevertheless, though this frequent use of metaphor is so helpful, there is another side to the matter, for metaphor has its dangers. It can be a hindrance, and may become an interdict on thinking. We can so easily be misled by a metaphor. Let us take some examples.

First, that frequently used metaphor of St. Paul in which he describes the Church as the 'Body of Christ' (Ephesians i. 23, iv. 12, 26, v. 30; Colossians i. 24; cf. 1 Corinthians xii. 27). Now we can all see how suggestive this figure is of a certain deep truth. As the body under the control and inspiration of the 'mind' or 'head' expresses the purposes of the mind, so we Christians act under the inspiration and constraint of Christ who works in and through us. This figure suggests the close relation of Christians to each other and to Christ the Head. Unity, interdependence, and variety of function, hand accomplishing one thing and foot another, all these facts are indicated by this figure. But it has its limitations and is dangerous if pressed too far. Christ does not use us simply as instruments, as hand or foot, but rather as agents — a very different thing. The Church is an association of persons linked together by a close deep bond, belonging to one another because each belongs to Christ; each acknowledges His authority, yields to His influence, and depends on His help. It is a fellowship of persons having common aims, common principles, and a common spirit — the spirit of Christ Jesus. Their relation to each other is not that of hand to foot or ear to eye, but rather are they members of a family. Hence this figure, 'The Body of Christ', helpful though it may be, is limiting if taken too literally. It does not do full justice to the value of the individual and no metaphor is adequate to the facts which minimize the individual, or in any way suggests de-personalizing him. The Church is not an organic unity like the human body, but a fellowship of persons, each a separate centre of consciousness.

A second figure which is misleading on this very point is that by which the Church is described as the 'Bride of Christ'. The idea it suggests to the mind is that of the Church as a 'hypostasis', a person over against the individuals who compose the Church, or a corporate personality in which the individual members are merged.

Another figure beloved by hymn-writers is that of an army. We sing 'Like a mighty army moves the Church of God', but does it — and should it? Anything less like the Church of Christ than an army it would be difficult to imagine. There is no parallel between the aim, spirit, and method of the Christian Church, and those of an army, especially a modern army with its bombers, flame-throwers, bayonets, with its regimentation and authoritarian spirit. It is true that the individual Christian and the Christian Church may have much to endure in the way of hardship, privation, and persecution; their task may be very difficult, but their spirit and method are at the utmost remove from that of an army. We need to beware lest by our use of what are really sub-christian metaphors we are influenced, perhaps sub-consciously, to accept and endorse sub-christian ways and works.

Another most misleading metaphor is that of 'Mother Church'. Sometimes the critic is told that the Church is his Mother and it is unseemly to criticize one's mother. But this betrays confusion of thought and is another instance of that 'hypostasizing', that thinking of the Church as a single personality. Again we would emphasize the fact that the Church is composed of a number of people at varying stages of development, none of them above or beyond criticism. What group of Christian people does not and has benefited by healthy criticism? To criticize the Papacy, Lambeth, the General Assembly, the Methodist Conference, or any local church, may be not merely permissible, but a 'bounden duty'. Martin Luther criticized the Church in no uncertain manner, indeed the Reformation would not have come to pass had not some brave spirits dared to criticize.

We remember that St. Paul criticized the Churches in his letters (notably the

Corinthians), and we may also note that he was not confined to the use of one figure (Body of Christ). To the Corinthians he says: 'Ye are God's husbandry, God's building', two widely different metaphors, and these are immediately preceded by 'We are God's fellow-workers'. He also refers to fellow-Christians as fellow-labourers, fellow-servants, fellow-citizens, heirs and joint-heirs with Christ Jesus, sons and adopted sons. We remember too that Our Lord Himself used a variety of metaphors in describing His followers and their functions. They are the light of the world, the salt of the earth, and as members of the Kingdom are a leaven which is to leaven the whole. Again, He is the Vine and they are the branches — and perhaps the greatest word is that which goes beyond metaphor: 'Ye are my friends'.

In respect of the doctrine of the Atonement, metaphor is seen in this same dual role, both helping and hindering us. Take for instance the words Ransom and Redemption. The slave who was ransomed or redeemed was set free. He was able henceforth to live a larger and more worthwhile life as a responsible person in a society of persons. The whole of life was on a higher level for him. This figure of ransom or redemption was used to describe what Christ Jesus does for sinful men and women. He sets them free from the tyranny of sin, opening up to them a larger life. The heart of the matter is in the 'setting free', the lifting to a new level of insight, courage, and faith. In Christ, men and women become new creatures, living a new life, freed from the binding power of evil habits, base superstitions, and a narrow self regard. And to suggest all this the ransom metaphor is peculiarly apt, but press it too literally and ask to whom the price was paid, and answer, as some did, that it was paid to the devil, and we have a crude and unworthy doctrine. Metaphor has then hardened into dogma and become a tyranny, tending to hinder thinking and rob us of the very freedom Christ came to bring.

In conclusion then let us bear in mind two cautions:

(a) A metaphor is a metaphor and not dogma, intended to suggest to the mind a certain likeness between two things but not to tyrannize over the mind.

(b) The variety, the almost bewildering variety of metaphors, each of which may suggest some aspect of the truth and thereby help us, but which, if taken in isolation, pressed too far, or regarded as a full statement of truth, becomes a danger. Bunyan himself, so skilled in the use of figurative language, knew its dangers and thought it necessary to preface his great work with an apology and to conclude it with a warning that his reader be not extreme in 'playing with the outside of his dream'. We will regard metaphor then, like fire, a good servant but a bad master.

RONALD LEES

Ministers in Council

MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION OF THE TWO MANCHESTER DISTRICTS. Summer meetings of this Association were held at Poynton, Cheshire, on Tuesday and Wednesday, 25th and 26th June, by the invitation of the Rev. Wilfred Harper, M.A. (the Secretary of the Association) and of the Park Lane Church, which gave to the members a most generous and hospitable welcome.

The Association sermon was preached on the Tuesday evening by the Rev. G. Osborn Gregory whose theme, based on Acts ii. 17-18, anticipated the following morning's session. The service was a season of gracious worship and spiritual power.

On Wednesday morning a Devotional Service was conducted by the President of the Association, the Rev. S. G. Copley. The Rev. Norman Snaith, M.A., in his own

inimitable and stimulating way then spoke on 'The Holy Spirit'. Stressing the vital importance of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit for the life of the Church and world today, Mr. Snaith emphasized the distinctive New Testament idea of the Holy Spirit — particularly its presentation of the Holy Spirit as transforming power. The address was followed by a well-sustained discussion of real intellectual and spiritual quality.

In the afternoon session, the Rev. Walter Gill, one of the younger members of the Association, read a paper on 'The Shape of Things to Come'. Good use had been made of the work of H. G. Wells, and J. W. Dunne's 'The New Immortality'. The essayist dealt mainly with The Shape of Temporal Things and The Shape of Immortal Things. A keen discussion was opened by a valuable contribution by the Rev. J. Herbert Price, M.A., and others followed in brisk succession until the President called a halt for tea.

The evening Public Meeting took the form of a Ministerial Brains Trust. The Rev. S. G. Copley (President) was the Question Master, with the Revs. A. Brown, M.A., A. W. M. Mayall and A. Leathley Heap, B.A., as the Brains Trust. A large congregation showed unflagging interest in the answer to a series of serious questions on the Bible and the Christian faith, and on matters of religious experience and practice. The conviction deepened in all present that this form of meeting has great potentialities and its use might be widely extended.

* * * * *

RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE AND ITS FINDINGS. Under the title of 'The Science of Relationships' there has been published from the Church Missionary House, Salisbury Square, E.C.4 (price 2s.) a most impressive account of a Rural Life Conference held at Downe House, Newbury, from 8th to 11th January in this year. The Conference was open to all who believe in the essential importance of the countryside. It had been preceded by an initial conference the previous year, held at Selly Oak, to consider the fundamental problems and lessons of rural life at home and abroad. At Newbury membership was closed at 120, though many more had expressed a desire to attend. It was representative of secular as well as religious organizations and letters of encouragement were received from leading agriculturists as well as from denominationalists. Five commissions were set up dealing with various aspects of rural life.

The Report includes addresses on the following subjects: 'Agriculture, Food, and Society', by Professor J. Scott Watson, Chief Education and Advisory Officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; 'Universal Principles of Rural Development', by Dr. J. Z. Hodge, lately Secretary of the National Christian Council of India; 'Missions and Culture Change', by J. Merle Davis, Director of Social and Economic Research for the International Missionary Council; 'Some West Indian Problems', by Sir Frank Stockdale, Adviser on Development Planning for the Colonial Office; and 'Towards A Christian Community', by Dr. C. E. Raven, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

A summary statement is printed of the findings of the five commissions on Co-operatives and their contribution to Country Life; The Relation between Health and Agriculture; The Structure of Rural Life; Literacy and the Rural Community, The Relation between Rural and Urban Society.

Looked at from the religious standpoint, this publication is significant from the fact that, taking a world view, it is quite evident the rural aspect of our work is by no means having the practical attention which is overwhelmingly its due.

Thus, the Report states that nine tenths of the Christian Churches overseas are people in country districts. It should therefore follow that missionary activity should be concentrated in the rural field, but actually that is not so; and one reason why it is not so is that most of the workers who go abroad as doctors, educationalists, ministers,

or social workers have received their home training in towns. The majority have spent their most impressionable years in urban surroundings in the homeland. Thus abroad they either tend to serve in towns or if they serve in the villages they are not sufficiently prepared for the right approach to the rural mind. Hence it is affirmed that the failure of Christian missions to build an enduring fabric of church life abroad is often due to the inability of missionaries to apprehend rural problems and potentialities.

Those contentions of the vast importance of the rural factor in life overseas are strongly supported from other quarters. The World Evangelization Crusade in a leaflet 'The Challenge of India' records that of the 389 millions in India some 340 millions live in villages. In 'China: her Life and People', by Mildred Cable and Francesca French (University of London Press) it is declared: 'China reckons that over 80 per cent of her inhabitants are engaged in farming.'

At the Newbury Conference it was urged that all missionaries before proceeding to rural areas abroad should receive during their period of training in the homeland an introduction to rural life, its problems and their solution.

But obviously there is equally clamant need for the Church in England to take much more seriously its own contacts with rural life if it is to regain its lost hold upon the dweller in the countryside.

It is intended to convene similar conferences at regular intervals and to further the closer association of the Christian Church and other voluntary organizations with governments in the service of country people. Throughout the conference at Newbury prayers were held in the chapel morning and evening, specially arranged for rural worship.

* * * * *

THE RURAL RELIGIOUS PROBLEM IN AMERICA. The latest volume of Dr. K. S. Latourette's *History of the Expansion of Christianity* ('Advance through Storm: A.D. 1914 and after') shows that the United States of America is suffering, like England, a setback in the rural areas. From being overwhelmingly rural, as it was at the dawn of the nineteenth century, by 1945 the United States had become predominantly urban. Whereas it had been popularly supposed that the stronghold of Christianity in the United States, and especially of Protestantism, was in the farming and rural village communities, the census of 1926 seemed to indicate that about 52 per cent of the rural population were members of Churches as against 58 per cent in the cities. In the mid-1930s it was estimated that there were thirteen million children and young people of school age in the rural communities who were receiving no Christian instruction.

Significant is the statement that Roman Catholics are now addressing themselves to the rural districts in the States. They were beginning by 1945 to realize that five-sixths of their membership in the United States was urban, that declining birth rates in the cities threatened their Church with slow numerical decline and that the rural regions with their larger birth rates presented an opportunity. They were bestirring themselves to take advantage of it, partly in caring for the portions of the rural population which were traditionally of their faith and partly by reaching out to the unchurched and the Protestants. This testimony is certainly arresting and affords food for thought to those concerned about religious life in the villages of England. So far, in the main there has been little action on a large concerted scale by the Roman Catholics in our villages but that may by no means always continue.

Dr. Latourette adds the cheering reflection that in the villages of America where there were resident pastors the churches, with their schools, were the chief foci of community life. Here again is a pointer for advance in our own country.

* * * * *

A ROMANIST BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION FOR ENGLAND. Mention has been made in these

columns of the recently formed Catholic Biblical Association for this country under the presidency of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. A magazine, *Scripture*, is now issued quarterly by the Association at the price of one shilling and it has been arranged that it should be procurable at many of the branches of W. H. Smith and Son, as well as at other non-Romanist shops. This is stated in an editorial to be of set purpose. Articles in the July number deal with 'Laymen as co-operators with the apostles', and 'The orderly account of St. Luke'. The first article acknowledges its indebtedness to *The Common Life in the Body of Christ*, by the Anglican scholar, Dr. L. S. Thornton (Dacre Press). Some pages are devoted to Questions and Answers on points of Biblical interpretation. Here, the first, on 'The glorified body', arises out of Dr. J. A. Findlay's expositions in the *British Weekly*. A couple of books are reviewed, one of them a commentary on Isaiah issued from Jerusalem. In this review mention is made of an article in the *Expository Times*, by Professor N. H. Snaith. A bibliography of Romanist books on St. Paul's Life and Writings occupies four pages. A list of books in a lending library does include a few non-Romanist books — such as Mee's *The Children's Bible*! Old Testament readings are suggested for each day in August, September, and October.

This newly awakened Scripture propaganda by the Romanists in England is in striking contrast with the policy of their Church elsewhere. As Dr. Micklem pointed out a while ago, under General Franco's regime in Spain the Bibles of the Bible Society have for long been subject to confiscation wherever the police found them.

* * * * *

'THE THEOLOGY OF CONFIRMATION IN RELATION TO BAPTISM'. This is the title of a public lecture in the University of Oxford delivered this year by a member of the Church of England, Dom Gregory Dix, Monk of Nashdom Abbey (Dacre Press 2s.) It has been evoked by a fresh consideration in the Anglican communion of the meaning for today of Confirmation.

The writer is evidently uneasy concerning infant baptism, even though admitting its long history and whilst believing that the church can 'very well afford' it. To him, 'Christian Initiation' — presumably into the Church of Christ — is in the New Testament described and conceived of solely in terms of a conscious adherence and response to the Gospel of God, that is, solely in terms of an adult Initiation.

He is concerned at the conception and practice of baptism as a private or semi-private and personal affair related only to the salvation of an individual. This he sees in operation in the Middle Ages and prevalent in our own day. Thus he declares that the most pressing aspect of the pastoral problem today lies precisely in those millions of English people of goodwill who sincerely regard themselves as practising Christians, who are baptized and insist on the baptism of their children in infancy, but who regard the Christian life as something a man does for himself individually and privately, making no more use of the means of grace provided by the church than he finds convenient. He holds that it is the existence of this vast amorphous mass of Pelagian goodwill, at least three or four times as large as the living body of Christ, which muffles the whole impact of the Gospel and the whole witness of the Church in England today.

Only the gift of the Holy Spirit incorporating one into the vital fellowship of the living Church can complete whatever baptism may symbolize and confer. But all this the author tells in his own way and with a fairly full historical survey.

Methodism has its own problems relating to junior membership in particular and to church membership in general and this booklet may stir thought and impart some illumination in our own search for a revivifying of our section of the Church Universal, though at several points our doctrinal and administrative emphasis may materially differ from that of its author.

W. E. FARNDAL

Recent Literature

The Old Testament Interpretation of History. By Christopher R. North. (Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.)

In this year's Fernley-Hartley lecture Professor North sets himself to discuss two themes. The first is to consider the various stages in the Hebrews' interpretation of their own history and to estimate the extent to which they were severally true. The second is to examine to what degree the actual course of Hebrew history justifies the claim that there was a special providence and purpose in God's dealings with Israel. After a brief summary of Hebrew history, Mr. North deals with the six successive Hebrew interpretations embodied in the Old Testament. These are the early *strata* on the Pentateuch with their continuation into Judges and Samuel; the prophets and their interpretation of past and present history; the prophetic-priestly compromise in Deuteronomy; the priestly outlook of post-exilic times; and lastly, the apocalyptic setting which begins to emerge in the last stages of the Old Testament. Throughout this section the lecturer gives a safe and thoroughly reliable summary of present-day scholarship. The only error we have found is a mistake in the Hebrew on p. 63. Mr. North owes a great deal to the late Dr. Wheeler Robinson — for instance, in the lay-out and the contents of Chapter 4.

In the latter part of the book and on the basis of the material set out so excellently, we find the discussion of the two problems originally outlined. On the first theme, the truth of the various interpretations, Professor North arrives, as though spirally, at a neo-fundamentalism. What would we have? God was working in a particular set of circumstances. We cannot pick and choose according to the predilections of our own conscience. The lecturer insists that we must take all or none, including, for instance, Joshua's 'unprovoked aggression'. This was definitely the will of God and within His purpose. (Does this mean that for God the end justifies the means?) But was Israel really chosen, or was its claim the quintessence of national pride? While the Hebrews were intensely nationalistic, for that is a characteristic common to all peoples, they did in many respects outgrow nationalism. They paved the way for an internationalism which even now is more than most men can stomach. They were indeed chosen, though not to rule so much as to suffer. They did their work of preparation for Christianity extraordinarily well, perhaps all the more because their nationalistic hopes again and again remained only 'the stuff that dreams are made on'. The concluding chapter, concerning Zion as the City of God, is by way of an *addendum*. The localization of the God whom 'heaven and earth cannot contain', was 'a second bridge to the Incarnation', because from it there developed the priestly idea of the Church which is 'the extension of the Incarnation'. Professor North's concluding statement is that the incompleteness of Old Testament religion is most manifest in its lack of any really vital doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

The book is especially to be recommended for the admirable surveys of the successive *strata* which modern literary criticism has shown to be the bricks with which the Old Testament has been built.

NORMAN H. SNAITH

The Authority of the Biblical Revelation. By H. Cunliffe-Jones. (James Clarke. 7s. 6d.)

This is an urgent and well-reasoned appeal for a new approach to the Bible. This approach, says the author, should be two-fold. The historico-scientific approach, which has been worked out and finally vindicated during the last hundred years, should interact with the theological approach, which is concerned with the purposes,

not the origins, of Scripture, and with interpretation, not explanation. The theological approach and its relation to the historico-scientific have to be thought out afresh for our age, and Mr. Cunliffe-Jones brings his book before us not as the fulfilment of that task, but as a summons to it. But his writing shows that he has the ability to perform much of the task himself, and he gives many indications of the lines which he thinks it ought to follow. In particular, he says that absolute authority for the Christian belongs not to the Bible, but to the Gospel in it; that the Bible is a unity, with a total theological content; that the real meaning of the Old Testament is to be found in Christ and not in itself; that books are canonical which are witnesses to God's self-revelation; and that the Gospel is the norm of tradition, which interprets it. Some of us will be left with one or two questions: if it is not the Bible but the Gospel which we must proclaim, how do we know what the Gospel is? and unless we know what the Gospel is, how can we test the Church's tradition by it? These questions lead straight to the basic one: Is there an absolute external authority at all? But Mr. Cunliffe-Jones has given us a very valuable exposition of one movement in contemporary theology.

R. E. DAVIS

The Apocryphal Literature. By C. C. Torrey. (Yale University Press via Oxford Press. 20s.)

Between the latest of the Old Testament books and the earliest of the New Testament there is a gap of something like two hundred years. This period is the womb out of which was born the world which Jesus knew. Its literature is therefore vastly important, since this is our chief source of information about it. It is indeed difficult to exaggerate the importance of all the literature which sprang up during these intervening years, for some knowledge of it is essential to the proper understanding of the New Testament. The angelology of the Gospels, for instance, is parallel to that in the Book of Enoch, and the New Testament eschatological passages (e.g. Mark xiii, Revelation) are a development from such apocalyptic books as are found in this literature. Dr. Torrey, now retired from his Chair of Semitics at Yale, has given us an account of this literature, some twenty-eight writings in number, of which fifteen of them are found in the Apocrypha. The book consists of two parts. The first, of forty pages, deals with general questions concerning this 'outside' literature as a whole. The author discusses the fortunes of the books of the Apocrypha, their relation to the Hebrew Canon of Scripture, their use by New Testament writers and subsequently by the Christian Church, and their full acceptance by the Council of Trent as equally authoritative with Old and New Testaments. He tells how Augustine changed his mind in company with Jerome, and describes the variant attitudes of the Reformers and the objections of the Puritans, dealing finally with the crisis in 1819-26 in the policy of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He advocates a return to the terminology of Jerome, whereby all 'outside' books should be called Apocryphal. He rightly deprecates the restriction of the term Apocrypha to the limited selection which appeared in the Vulgate, especially since the name Pseudepigrapha, by which the rest have come to be known, is neither consistently applied nor accurate. Most of the Apocrypha are pseudepigraphic also. The second part of the book consists of a detailed study of every 'outside' book. Full bibliographies are provided at every stage, and the whole set-up is in every way admirable. To the lists add Professor H. H. Rowley's *The Relevance of Apocalypse*, which was published at about the same time as the original American edition of this book. As Dr. Torrey's *Ezra Studies* show, he is an authority particularly on the Ezra-Nehemiah literature, so that *First Esdras* naturally receives somewhat fuller treatment than other books. Yet every book receives adequate consideration within the limits of something over a hundred

large pages. There is a general tendency, as we should expect from Dr. Torrey, to assume an Aramaic original behind some of the books. Of special value are the discussions on *The Lives of the Prophets* and *The Testament of Job*, two books which are not usually treated within the subject.

NORMAN H. SNAITH

Groundwork of the Philosophy of Religion. By Atkinson Lee. (Duckworth. 6s.)

The admixture of compactness and comprehensiveness in this relatively small book of some 250 pages is the first thing which strikes the reader. The next is its modernity. Professor Lee does not insist on the narrower connotation of philosophy. He is willing to consider any considered view of life, even if the author is as oddly set among the philosophers as Saul was among the prophets. Hence we get criticism, pertinent criticism, of men whose names are not written in the histories of philosophy, but whose views represent modern eddies, if not currents, of thought. The author necessarily omits detail, for that is the fixed price of brevity. In meteorology condensation produces moisture, but in the writing of books it usually produces dryness. With that reproach, however, none can justly saddle Professor Lee. Yet the close packing of the argument makes this book more suited to those who have some preliminary acquaintance with the subject than to the tyro. For the former it is admirably framed. The arrangement of the subject matter will help more students in a second than in a first year of study. For example, in the last chapter, on Monotheism, the various types of monotheistic theory are reviewed three times according to their conceptions of God, of the world, and of man. This method is not without certain advantages, but to the student who knows nothing of Deism, Pantheism or Theism, it may be a little confusing, particularly as Bergson, whose philosophy certainly deserves to be called theistic, is touched upon only in the chapter on the psychical roots of religion. One notable omission is Whitehead's philosophy, which certainly has a claim for consideration greater than that, for example, of Marx, and one would like to have had more of Hobbes, of Butler, or of Lotze, Ritschl and the philosophy of values. The last named subject is by no means overlooked, but it might have been better to have treated it more unitarily than to have seven short sections in different parts of the book dealing with it. On the other hand there is a long and admirable section on Humanism which is very much to the point today.

Professor Lee's book should meet a long-felt need. It will serve to bring to the student's notice the latest developments of the subject, which, of course, found no place in some of the standard books issued years ago. Moreover, it brings within the purview of the subject the primitive phases of religion which the earlier religious philosophers ignored or left to the unskilled hands of the anthropologists. With the general standpoint of Professor Lee there is no need to disagree. He is tolerant and synoptic in his views, but he does not yield about essentials, and one is glad that he decisively rejects the modern plea that morality needs no religious sanctions. Such a position is not difficult to defend in theory, but in practice two generations without religion would certainly prove its falsity, though the proof might be exceedingly costly to civilization and all human values. For this sound and thoughtful exposition of a great subject all students will find themselves considerably in debt to Professor Lee.

E. S. WATERHOUSE

The Existence of God. By Eric G. Jay. (S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d.)

The philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, which, to quote the late Professor John Laird, was 'restored in 1879 by the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* to the place it had occupied at the Council of Trent', has more recently been eagerly studied by the neo-Thomists of the Anglican Church. This is all to the good, for it is difficult, though not impossible,

to exaggerate the significance of Aquinas both for his disciples and his foes. It is however another thing to be content, in theology, with a careful exposition of Aquinas' views. For he worked with conceptions and categories which were illuminating and valuable in an age when Aristotle had just extended the mental horizon of mankind, but which were not so suited to the enlargement and transformation of the physical universe, just being inaugurated by the pioneers of science, all unsuspected by the philosophers and theologians. But Mr. Jay has found that the exposition of the brief but pregnant paragraphs in which Aquinas set forth his five ways of proving the existence of God, in daring opposition to the famous ontological proof of Anselm, has been of great interest and value to his students at King's College and in the R.A.F. His method is to take each of the five 'ways', give a rendering (which reads rather like a close paraphrase of the Dominican translation published in 1911 by Washbourne) and follow this by an exposition and a commentary. Aquinas cannot be understood without some knowledge of Aristotle's system, for he regarded this with almost as much reverence as Scripture. Mr. Jay's references to Aristotle give some help, but are too brief and not always exact enough for any clear guidance. More serious questions are — whether Aquinas really establishes the existence of God as the Christian faith understands God; and whether such proofs as he gives will hold in a world where both philosophy and science and theology have been hard at work for five hundred years since Aquinas breathed his last. 'Signified' occurs several times for 'conceived'; and 'nothing' for 'noting' makes nonsense of one of Mr. Jay's sentences; in one place the two senses of 'final' are confused. But for the beginner the book is the only one of its kind, and will certainly be of use.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

Reason and Conduct in Hume's Treatise. By Rachel M. Kydd. (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.)

Here Miss Kydd calls attention to an old but unsettled question in moral philosophy — namely, whether or to what extent reason influences moral action. It is true that it has been discussed fairly recently by Dr. Hastings Rashdall and Professor McDougall, whose treatment of the matter is not referred to by our authoress. But modern thinkers generally have neglected it, largely because of the descriptive and historical method in vogue amongst so-called moralists in the present century. The late Professor Samuel Alexander once said to a moralist who was urging the importance of the question of obligation, 'There is no obligation to be obligated'. Miss Kydd rightly holds, however, that obligation is a crucial question for ethics, and seeks guidance from the discussion of it in the eighteenth century. The rationalists then generally assumed that reason itself supplies a motive to moral action, and in this were followed afterwards by such writers as Kant and Sidgwick. And most moralists would now agree that 'ought' implies 'can'. But does it imply 'must'? And, if so, why? Hume put his finger upon this difficulty, and argued that the mere fittingness or suitability of an act to a situation, as seen by reason, furnishes no impulse to perform it. He said that 'reason is perfectly inert', 'it cannot ever keep the mind in suspense for a moment', 'it is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions'. These and similar declarations gave the impression that Hume was a complete amoralist, and even an immoralist. For how could the passions give rise to an 'ought' at all?

Miss Kydd argues, however, that Hume did allow both a 'directive' and a 'promotive' influence of reason upon the passions, which in morals are thereby those which would be aroused in a perfectly disinterested and omniscient spectator. Her conclusion is that 'It is commonly assumed that Hume's account of the relation between reason and action commits him to saying that moral conduct is altogether inde-

pendent of reason. In fact, the reverse is true. It is precisely his views on practical reason which should have enabled, and indeed did logically commit him, to say that moral conduct does depend on reason. Once he has admitted that reflection and judgement can be the mediate cause of action, he is irrevocably pushed nearer and nearer to maintaining that our sense of moral obligation not only can but must be determined by the practical power of reason. But the kind of moral rationalism to which Hume paves the way is different from that which the older moralists maintained. The view that our duties depend on reason alone Hume has utterly destroyed. This verdict is reached, however, by a great deal of complex and subtle argument, based upon hypotheses about what Hume might have said, and only serves once more to show how obscure and confused his reasonings were. And how can a sceptic be 'logically committed' to anything? Miss Kydd's book has the merits and defects of a research thesis, being based, on the one hand, upon various *data*, minutely examined, which lead to tentative conclusions, and opening, on the other, the prospect of a wider and fuller treatment of what is still a burning question.

ATKINSON LEE

The Fourfold Vision. By F. Sherwood Taylor (Chapman & Hall. 6s.)

The State of Public Knowledge. By K. E. Barlow. (Faber & Faber. 8s. 6d.)

Dr. Sherwood Taylor gives us the view of a Catholic scientist on the perennial question of the relations of Science and Religion. There are many good things in the book. Dr. Taylor shows, for example, the true nature of scientific 'laws'; they are simply descriptions of past observation, and, while they are a reliable basis for action and further research, they are never more than provisional. His two concluding chapters show how belief in the existence of God is confirmed from the existence of the Universe, and have a finely sensitive section on 'The Intuition of God in Nature'. The weakness of the book is that it deals with the subject almost exclusively from the standpoint of the physical sciences. No doubt this is why the 'refutation' of Materialism is not particularly helpful; what the writer has here in mind is now out-moded, even among those scientists who proclaim a thorough-going materialism as their creed. In describing the respective functions of Science and Religion Dr. Taylor claims to show how scientific knowledge is partial and relative since it seeks to eliminate the personal factor of the observer, and how it cannot deal with man's ideals or 'spiritual' life, nor prescribe any end as good or supremely desirable. Here, as he says, is the crucial point at issue at the moment; we are faced, in the apparent breakdown of every other discipline and culture, with the claim that this is just what the new scientific outlook can decide. Yet on the whole question of the relations of Science and Religion, past experience should have taught us by now that the solution does not lie in attempts on the religious side to mark out the boundaries beyond which Science will not be able to go. A more fruitful line surely is to expose the full effects of the materialist attitude as they confront us today, and to re-examine scientifically their assumptions. In *The Discipline of Peace* Dr. K. E. Barlow dealt with the former, especially in relation to 'the rape of the earth'. Now from his pen comes *The State of Public Knowledge*, in which he looks at the latter. The book is not light reading; its argument is closely knit, and not easy to summarize, bringing, as it does, the latest researches of neurology and the *Gestalt* Psychology to bear on our processes of knowledge. Many of our conclusions about man's place in the Universe are based on the view of sense in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, now shown to be incorrect. How are our several senses able to produce an integrated and coherent unity of knowledge at each phase of their operation? Here one of the points which Dr. Taylor stresses — the elimination of the personal factor in scientific observation — wholly necessary within certain spheres as it may be, is exposed in its

tragic effects, not only on our view of the process of knowledge, but ultimately on our estimate of the individual, and our whole sociological 'development' in the last two centuries. This is the kind of scientific guidance which counters the merely 'physical' approach to reality; we learn, not only by stimulus from the external world, but also by our own response to it. The individual is a living participant in the world, and if 'nothing is in his mind which has not first come through his senses', recent research shows that we must include in 'the senses' not only the five which are popularly so-called, but also our own knowledge of our response to the external world through them. So a later chapter maintains the inversion of Descartes' '*faux pas*' — before I can think, I must *be*. The chapter on 'Causation' shows the inadequacy of the 'atomic' view to explain either the spontaneity or the order of our world. 'The fact of spontaneity . . . is a reminder that the development of characteristic performance is not a standard effect. The potentials of development are specific to the individual.' Thus, while the State may be able to provide opportunity by compulsion, it cannot compel men to use it. Here again, as the fact of birth reminds us, the individual is not an 'atom', but until we have discarded the economic view of man which led to the breakdown of the family, we stand little chance of educating him as a truly social person. Dr. Barlow's book is a very important piece of epistemological inquiry, which gives us pause in yielding primacy to the physical sciences, and speaks to the point which for many today provides the greatest difficulty to faith.

T. J. FOINETTE

Confusion of Faces. The Struggle between Religion and Secularism in Europe — A Commentary on German History, 1517-1939. By Erich Meissner. (Faber & Faber. 10s. 6d.)

The German reader feels extremely grateful for this deep and searching study, for it is a great help to him in finding his way through the spiritual ruins which are even more bewildering than the material ruins which surround him. The author writes with full responsibility as a Christian and at the same time with a wide knowledge of German history and German mentality as well as of European affairs. The thesis of the book is that 'the outstanding fact in European history during the four centuries since the Reformation is the secularization of life'. 'Christianity . . . has been in full retreat and still is . . . There is a spiritual vacuum . . . In Germany it has become apparent.' The subject is discussed as a European problem. As the chapter headings indicate, there is a 'unity of Europe which exists even against the will of the nations concerned'. Under 'The Schism' the writer deals with the Reformation, in criticism of which he says, for instance, 'to transform society was no longer considered a Christian task', 'the broken bodies of the "*Schwärmgeister*" were the foundation on which the Reformer built his dark and mystical doctrine of the State', '(the Reformers) paved the way for theological modernism'. But the question is whether secularism had not started a long time before the Reformation as a continuous process of secularization within the medieval Church, and whether Luther in his attempt to re-establish the true source of the Church's authority had not laid the secret and yet valid foundations for overcoming the crisis. 'The Religious Wars and the Rise of Secularism' gives an account of Richelieu's unfortunate influence and an interesting theory about Wallenstein as a 'potential Richelieu'. 'Had the German succeeded, the history of Europe would have taken a different course. There could have been no Bismarck, no modern "Reich", no Hitler. For the Austro-Russian conflict and the novel traditions which proceeded from it were the outcome of Germany's political disintegration, exploited by France.' This does not, however, dispense with German responsibility, and the author goes on to show how the catastrophe gradually developed. Here there are the headings: 'Prussia', 'Austria and the Holy Roman

Empire', 'The Impact of the French Revolution on German History', 'The Period of "Reaction"', 'The Advance of Democracy', 'Imperialism', 'Conservative Revolution' and Nihilism'. This historical research gives an interpretation which does not oversimplify the facts but traces the tensions and various possibilities of development within each period. For instance, the writer shows that Frederick the Great and Prussia did not alarm contemporary Europe unduly, but that 'The Prussian menace is a more modern experience', that 'The lesson was still to be learned that nations fight fiercer war than kings', and that the French Revolution raised for the first time 'the spectre of total war'! The revolutionary spirit was a true sign of the secularism which leads to the unholy trinity of 'Irreligion, utopian hope, and compulsion'. 'The real danger of Hitlerism . . . was its defiance of the human conscience.' The anti-Christian character of Nazism and its difference from Eastern totalitarianism might be still further stressed; Karl Barth summed up this difference in four points: (1) no anti-semitism; therefore (2) no parallel to the 'German Christian' movement; (3) care for the underdogs; (4) no necessity for Church struggle.

The author treats the German and European problem as a religious problem, well aware that this method goes beyond the framework of historical research, for he says that the question 'Is Secularism true? does it correspond to reality?' cannot be answered by the historian. Or again, 'Use has also been made of persuasions which historical evidence can neither sustain nor discredit. They form the undercurrents of the argument. Whether such complexity be permissible, perhaps even appropriate, is not for the author to pronounce.' This risk justifies itself in the course of the argument and enables the author to give well-balanced statements on the failure and weakness of the Churches and also on their positive significance. He sees the danger of 'Religious archaism' and the 'vain hope of trying to revive the authority of the Church by making her show a growing concern about political and social problems'. 'The Confessional Church has returned to the Christ of the Creed as He is revealed in the Bible.' 'Who else in Germany dared to ask Hitler such direct questions as the leaders of the Confessional Church when, in spring 1936, they sent a memorandum to the "Fuehrer"? This document dealt not only with matters of Church doctrine; it referred to concentration camps and the illegal proceedings of the Secret Police. It also criticized bluntly the deification of the "Fuehrer".' The author offers no easy solution of the terrible problem but expects 'the reader to draw conclusions himself'. What is needed is a reinterpretation of the Gospel in a nihilist environment and a proclamation of Christ as Saviour even of the utterly non-religious modern man. True repentance will be needed on a totalitarian scale. The promise to the 'poor in spirit' has not been heard by many Germans and it is unfortunately still true that the average man reacts in the same way as the author describes him reacting after 1918: 'There was self-pity but no self-examination; there was burning indignation about the injustice inflicted upon Germany by other nations, but little readiness to see her own faults.' Dr. Meissner's general conclusion is in agreement with the 'Barmen Declaration', and though written before the end of the war remains true of the present. 'Christ is the Lord, not as the conclusion to which thought and experience have been leading up, but as the starting point of Christian life.' The fruits of the Church struggle still remain to be seen, both inside and outside Germany, but the promise remains 'I make all things new'. Germany is wounded, almost to death, and the Church in that land is under the Cross, but she may yet learn to practise, and thereby to preach, its lessons.

RUDOLF WECKERLING
Pastor in Berlin

The Christian in Politics. By Maurice B. Reckitt. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.)

The State as a Servant of God. By Philip S. Watson. (S.P.C.K. 4s.)

Pens Under the Swastika. By W. W. Schütz. (S.C.M. 5s.)

The brilliant school of Anglo-Catholic sociologists has owed much for many years to the inspired leadership of Mr. Maurice B. Reckitt. As recently as 1944 he edited a notable series of essays under the title *Prospect for Christendom*. This fresh book from his pen describes the function of the Church and the role of the Christian in politics. He works to the conclusion that true religion is 'not a moral dynamo to run the national machine, nor an ethical bellows to pump altruism into social service, but a prophetic force operating upon society with sanctions which come from beyond society'. To this end he desires that, however different their party-loyalty may be, Christians ought co-operatively (1) to consider their common problems, (2) vindicate and defend Christian standards in regard to such mixed questions as Marriage and Education, and (3) try to discover whether a Christian doctrine of man and society does not demand a common policy in respect of certain political and social projects. This co-operation among Christians, of course, would be especially valuable (if practical difficulties could be overcome) in the House of Commons. It is an idea that Mr. Reckitt has been pressing since he wrote *Faith and Society* (1932), but he still finds that notable instances of co-operation are rare. His chapter on the value of establishment to the Church of England is neither relevant nor convincing. But his plea for 'politics in town and parish' and his emphasis on theological virtues in political dealing are both pertinent and stimulating.

Rev. Philip S. Watson is known beyond the borders of his own Methodist Church as an authority on Swedish Reformed Theology and on the thought of Martin Luther. In this book he gives us with his usual exact scholarship what is virtually a commentary on Luther's views of the State, its nature and its tasks. It is all passed through the sieve of Mr. Watson's keen mind and is not only made strikingly relevant to the modern situation but for the greater part would command the assent of thinking Christian people. If his discussion of pacifism is unsatisfying, it is because he can only treat it within the limits imposed by his subject. Yet, if pacifists are to be trounced, they at least ought to have their whole claim fully met. In any case this book was written in the heat of war and since then we have had Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Bikini. Both pacifists and non-pacifists within the Church must re-think and re-state their position. We live in a changed world with our perspective greatly shortened. While there is not much time for academic controversy, there is great need for the two sides to come together in hard constructive thinking. The book as a whole is a splendid piece of clear and constructive writing. It moves to an eloquent and convincing assertion of the sovereign claims of Christ.

Mr. W. W. Schütz has rendered English readers a considerable service in giving quotations from many German speakers and writers who even throughout the days of war refused to compromise with Nazi philosophy. Leaders of the Churches, both Catholic and Protestant, naturally figure prominently in these pages, but the writer rightly emphasizes also the service rendered by historians, anarchists, essayists, and philosophers. He has an interesting section on the part played by publishing houses in the type of book they issued. Even the discriminating printing of the Classics played its part in keeping the flame of freedom burning in many hearts. One cannot doubt after reading this book that in this modern persecution there were many thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal. They need our constructive support at this present time, for upon them the hope of a new and neighbourly Germany must chiefly depend.

MALDWIN EDWARDS

Our Threatened Values. By Victor Gollancz. (Gollancz. 5s.)

The keynote to this remarkable little book is the following statement: 'Respect for personality, our value of values, is today everywhere threatened. In thought, in speech, in act, it suffers hourly dishonour. This, and not the atom bomb, is the major threat to our civilization.' Truthfulness, mercy, pity and humility, the marks of sincere respect for personality, are openly disregarded or but lightly regarded. Mr. Gollancz sustains and illustrates his indictment by a survey of contemporary European politics. Fascist doctrine and practice, Soviet totalitarianism, the post-war treatment of fallen Germany, national as opposed to international Socialism, and hatred and the cult of self-interest, are all shown to be at once a denial of Judæo-Christian teaching and a challenge to it. Back to the Hebrew prophets and their demand for social justice everywhere; back to the directness and immediacy of Christ's teaching of the universality of God's Fatherhood; forward to a way of living which upholds uncompromisingly the values now threatened! Here is a trumpet-call from within modern Judaism to thinkers and teachers, and in particular to Englishmen and Western Europeans. This is a book which no Methodist preacher should fail to read and re-read.

HENRY CARTER

The Case for Pacifism and Conscientious Objection. (C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. 3s., post free.)

This little volume comprises three essays which together form a reply to a book by Prof. G. C. Field, entitled *Pacifism and Conscientious Objection*, published a year ago. Prof. Field, who was a member of one of the official tribunals before which conscientious objectors appeared, wrote critically. The essays now published answer his contentions under the headings 'Pacifism as an Individual Duty', by Rev. E. L. Allen; 'Pacifism as a Policy', by Francis E. Pollard; and 'Society and the Conscientious Objector', by G. A. Sutherland. A reviewer cannot but reflect on the change in the public attitude since the criticism and the replies were penned. The menace of atomic warfare overhangs this long-debated issue, and raises the stupendous issue whether ordered civilization could survive blows such as those which fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The controversy between pacifist and non-pacifist must now be viewed against that grim background. None the less there is abiding value in these essays. Mr. Allen argues cogently that 'an absolute moral judgement is of the very essence of morality', and that the pacifist may prove to be the pioneer of a final and universal acceptance of his thesis. His re-statement of Christian pacifism is penetrating, pointing forward to transmutation of the closed or nationally-minded societies of today to the world-community, 'the open society which has no frontiers'. Mr. Pollard makes effective use of the new evidence from Norway of the value of moral in contrast with physical resistance to the evil Nazi regime. Mr. Sutherland renders lasting service in discussion of the lessons of the tribunals, and concludes with great words from the speech by Lord Hugh Cecil in 1917, when the question of conscientious objection was before the House of Commons.

HENRY CARTER

Discerning the Signs of the Times. By Reinhold Niebuhr. (S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.)

The Peril of the Preoccupied. By Wilfrid L. Hannam. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.)

Whatever comes from the pen of Dr. Niebuhr is sure of a respectful welcome on both sides of the Atlantic. His latest book consists of ten short articles, described as 'Sermons for Today and Tomorrow' and based on sermons preached in American colleges and universities. They have all to do with the 'signs' of the times through which the Christian Church is passing during these bewildering and anxious years.

The book cannot fail to be of help to all who come within the influence of the author's confidence and sanity, though it is hardly to be expected that every reader will agree with all the teaching of these ten articles. While the author is loyal to the Christian hope, he is not exactly what some would call an optimist, and he has a good deal to say about the racial pride and the mixed motives of all the nations, especially of America, Russia, and Great Britain. He believes that we are living now between two ages, 'one dead, the other powerless to be born'. The future golden age will probably not be 'born' for generations, possibly not for centuries, and we must look forward to 'frustrations' as well as to fulfilment. Meanwhile our only confidence and hope are in the knowledge that this present age and all the others are in the hands of the timeless and eternal God who is leading us to the final home of our humanity, 'the City which hath foundations', of which He is Himself the Builder and the Maker and from whose Love neither things present nor things to come will ever be able to separate us. In that confidence we shall know something of the peace which passeth 'understanding'.

The second book has much in common with the first although the two writers have very different points of view. Mr. Hannam takes his title from the first of fifteen New Testament studies, and the lessons drawn from these studies are applied with the author's characteristic vigour and insight to the needs of the Church and of the world amid the tasks and problems of the present day. The 'peril' of Christians today is to be 'preoccupied' with surface trivialities while we are blind to the one thing needful both for the world and for ourselves. Many of the fifteen studies are on unusual topics; not one of them is commonplace. Mr. Hannam has the gifts both of an historian and of a writer who is always fascinating, original, and sincere. This is specially evident in his studies of such characters as Herod, Annas, Caiaphas, and Ananias. The last of these studies is on the 'Peace of God'. By a strange coincidence it is the same with Dr. Niebuhr's book. We commend both books to all who are called to the service of the present age and to the rediscovery of the New Testament.

THOS. H. BARRATT

The Road of Adventure. By Harry Wilkinson. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

Lifting the Vizar. By Frederick Pilkington. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.)

These two books, both written by Methodist Ministers, have a message for the present situation. Mr. Wilkinson says that his book is an attempt to confront Youth with the challenge of Christ. Its great merit is that it starts with Christ, and presents the clear challenge of personal encounter with Him. The illustrations are apt and the treatment fresh, but one wonders whether the book will appeal to those whom we call the 'outside youth'. Some of the chapters are apt to carry the impression of a simplified sermon, rather than a club-room talk. It is the sort of book which will serve a useful purpose in the club library, and it will help those who are seriously seeking to understand what Christian life means, to find their feet.

In *Lifting the Vizar*, Mr. Pilkington writes with conviction out of his experiences as a padre. The book carries the impression of conversations with men in canteens, Padre's Hours, Wesley Houses. There is a great deal of enlightened common sense in the chapter on the 'Personal Balance Sheet' of army life, and much which must be taken into account when welcoming men from the Services back to the Church which they love but which may not be so ideal as they could wish. It is good to see the suggestion that, as the future of the Church depends not only upon those who have been maintaining the work through the difficult years of the war but also on 'what the returned men make it to be', a tolerance and understanding must be exercised on all sides. The writer pleads for 'a willingness to examine carefully and ruthlessly discard obsolete forms of Church organization'. A bright, elevating form

of service is needed as a means of vocal expression. Long, droning prayers are not helpful. Obscure sermons are sleep-inducing. It is of no avail using unfamiliar words and terms unrelated to the present-day world. Too much ritual is meaningless, and 'special occasions' often seem to have no relation to spiritual needs. Some practical suggestions are made to meet the criticisms which arise from experience. Fortunately there are many who share Mr. Pilkington's desire that the Church should become much more a Community Centre than it has been in the past. Experiments are already being made whereby the Church is becoming a 'home', providing opportunity for fellowship for young and old alike. *Lifting the Vizard* is another call to adventurous Christian Service.

R. J. DOIDGE

The Heart of Religion. By W. Francis Gibbons. (Marshall Morgan & Scott. 5s.)

The Larger Evangelism. By John R. Mott. (Lutterworth Press. 5s.)

It would be a happy augury for the future of evangelical religion if the sermons in Mr. Gibbons's book were typical of the British pulpit. For this is preaching constantly concerned with the central issues of faith and life, and deriving its power from its theme. In some thirty chapters there is naturally unevenness of treatment; it would perhaps be unreasonable to expect a uniformly high level, and therefore it may be merely captious to say that 'Man of Joy' and 'Concerning Service' fail to arrest the reader's mind and carry conviction. It is rather with the general impression that we are concerned, and as Mr. Gibbons works out his interpretation of our Lord as Man, Mystic, and Master (1 Timothy iii. 16), a reader must be hardened indeed whose conscience is not stirred. Partly this is due to the sincerity and artistry of the preacher, who knows how to press his wide reading into practical service, and how to make an incident into an illustration, but chiefly it is the effect of the preacher's steady aim to portray Christ, who on page after page is set forth in such wise that He speaks for Himself. Many preachers will find this book quotable and therefore of immediate value, but it will achieve even more if it persuades some to reconsider their technique, finding inspiration in the principles which guide Mr. Gibbons.

Ninety pages from John R. Mott provide only a morsel when many would welcome a feast. This small book embodies five lectures given in the Emory University, and, though all too brief, distils the wisdom and passion of one who is unquestionably the leading layman of our times. His immense experience, built up from contacts in almost every land during fifty years of incessant labour, gives heightened value to his judgements. It is with no surprise that we read his challenging words at the beginning of the book: 'The supreme purpose of the Christian Church is to make Jesus Christ known, trusted, loved, obeyed, and exemplified in the whole range of individual life — body, mind and spirit — and also in all human relationships. This is incomparably the most important work for every Christian.' Every page of the book breathes hope. Mott confesses that four modern evangelists have impressed him greatly, Kagawa, Sam Jones, Drummond and Moody, of whom the last is the greatest. The analysis of Moody's principles and appeal, with an application to our own situation, are themselves enough to make this a seasonable book indeed.

W. RUSSELL SHEARER

The Healing Nation. By Alexander May. (James Clarke. 3s. 6d.)

Concerning the Way. By F. C. Bryan. (S.C.M. 6s.)

The first of these books attempts too much. Primarily it is a statement of the Christian Pacifist belief that the Cross reveals God's method with evil and that the same method is obligatory upon the Church. So long as it develops this idea the book is effective and persuasive. It speaks of a theological truth which the opponents of

Pacifism usually evade. In the second place, the author sets himself against the social philosophy represented by *The Christian News-Letter* and by such teachers as J. H. Oldham and the late William Temple. He sees the Church compromised and hamstrung as a result of placing itself in the Community, and he pleads vigorously for Christian isolationism. This follows strangely on the earlier argument. The Christology of the first chapters does not seem to reach Mr. May's later writing. Yet, whether one agrees with him or no, if he had concentrated on the two points named one would have welcomed this provocative book. Unhappily, it doesn't stop there. Instead, it goes on to discuss most things in heaven and earth — the T.U.C., urban sanitation, the doctrine of the Sacrament, the Class War, etc! The chapter headings sufficiently hint at what the reader may expect — 'Simplified Four-Dimensional Geometry'; 'The New Dynamism'; 'Cashing in on Planning', and so on. One can only regret that the volume was not severely pruned, for things in it which are well worth saying may be missed in a welter of the unnecessary.

The second book gives pastoral advice to beginners in the Christian allegiance. Here and there in it one comes across phrases that jar (for example, the Lord's Supper 'offers food for the soul that is rich in spiritual vitamins', and 'The Cross was God's blood transfusion'). Such language is no more attractive in modern publications than in Origen or Gregory of Nyssa. One can only add that the Christian Way has been described more interestingly and realistically than it is here — e.g. in such books as John Hadham's *Good God*, and C. S. Lewis's *Screwtape Letters*. Yet this book does offer intelligent and balanced guidance, with a welcome absence of theological jargon.

WILFRED WADE

Education, Christian or Pagan. By M. V. C. Jeffreys; *Growing Up in a Modern Society.*

By Marjorie Reeves. (University of London Press. 4s. 6d. each.)

Research in Education. By R. A. C. Oliver. (Allen & Unwin. 5s.)

The first two of these books are volumes in a new series called 'Educational Issues Today'. Professor Jeffreys gives us a rather negative analysis of our present discontents. He says quite truly that our religious teaching needs a good stiffening of doctrine, particularly of the doctrine of sin, but he gives little guidance on the way to achieve this. The dilemma of Christian education is that it cannot fully be realized except in a society which itself is Christian and yet it is no business of the State to assume the existence of such a society by a majority vote. The difficulty in the way of such a proceeding has been felt not only by pacifists but also by prohibitionists, anti-gambling reformers, and others. Can a State which itself is not Christian give a Christian education? Prof. Jeffreys puts this problem very clearly. He is an Anglican but he deprecates the continued existence of Church Schools and feels that the right policy is to try to make the 'undenominational' teaching in the Council Schools both religious and also educational. He makes some very apposite criticism of that very much over-rated and over-publicized book, Sir Richard Livingstone's *Education for a World Adrift*, a book which represents Stoicism at its best but shows little or no discernment of the central truth of Christianity, that 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners'.

Miss Marjorie Reeves, who replaced the late Dr. A. W. Harrison as a Free Church representative on the Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Education, has written one of the most admirable books on education that has appeared in our time. The Education Committee of the Methodist Church would do well to present a copy to all its members. For what Miss Reeves has attempted is something very much needed, namely, to work out a Christian philosophy of education in terms of actual children and actual schools and the actual conditions of the young worker. She is always in

touch with the real problems and is thorough, penetrating, and suggestive. The relation of the individual to the group, the place of the small group within the larger one, the conservation of personal values within a society that is growing more and more impersonal, the pattern of societies within the State (e.g. the family, the locality, the voluntary agencies, the school, the Church) and the relation of the Sunday School to youth work, to the Church and to the day school—all these subjects and more are touched upon in this masterly short survey.

Prof. Oliver's book is intended to appeal to the working teacher and to enlist his or her interest in 'research'. While the author tabulates a number of subjects on which research is needed in a suggestive and useful way, it is disappointing to notice how very few of these subjects have anything to do with *teaching* and how many of them have to do with learning. Education is here mainly (though not entirely) conceived as the adjustment of one variable—the child—to a number of non-variables, including the teacher. But are there any non-variables in education? If teaching is an art (as Prof. Oliver insists that it is) and not a science, it must surely involve the adjustment of a number of variables to each other. There is at the back of all the clamour for 'research' the assumption of a determinist philosophy, the characteristic of which is that it endows the philosopher himself—in this case the researcher—with entire immunity from the forces that beat upon the child, the parents, the employers, and society generally. However, it is useful that such matters as can properly be isolated and treated in a laboratory fashion should be the subject of research, and with this limitation this is a book well worth reading.

A. VICTOR MURRAY

John Wesley's London Chapels. By J. Henry Martin. (Epworth Press, 2s.)

In this account of 'John Wesley's London Chapels' Mr. Martin has produced a very useful and interesting work, which is both concise and packed with information. He suitably describes how the Foundery, the first of Wesley's chapels, served during its forty years of Methodist history as an evangelistic preaching-house, a band-room to accommodate three hundred people, a meeting-place for many classes of both sexes, a school-room, a dwelling-house, a community centre, a book-room, a dispensary, a home for preachers, a refuge for the poor, and a lending centre for poor business men. Outstanding Methodists worked and worshipped there—for instance, Silas Told, John Humphreys, Thomas Maxfield, Thomas Olivers, John Nelson, not to mention John and Charles Wesley and their mother, who spent the last years of her life there. Such a record of social and spiritual activity was fully maintained and even increased in its successor, the City Road Chapel. The idea of a new building was mooted in 1775, a year of national crisis and controversy, and it was not till April 1777 that the first stone was laid, the Chapel being opened eighteen months later. Difficulties and troubles of various kinds were encountered in the early years. When John Wesley died in 1791 ten thousand people viewed his body as it lay in state in City Road Chapel. Many alterations were made in later years—gas was installed, the pulpit lowered, new rooms and stained-glass windows from daughter churches added, an organ introduced, and seating accommodation improved. As Mr. Martin says: 'The record of the service rendered by this Church is one of outstanding significance'; 'National occasions and Methodist celebrations have been observed in the historic sanctuary'; 'The Mother Church of Methodism has well served her children, and the family has always come to her help in time of need'. Today, after one hundred and sixty-eight years of Methodist devotion, loyalty, faith, service, sacrifice, and enterprise, Wesley's Chapel still stands, in spite of the devastation on every side caused by 'the great blitz', 'flying bombs', and 'rocket bombs', as a sentinel guarding the treasures of the past and as a beacon light for darkness and uncertainties of the

future. This noble heritage should be guaranteed a nobler greatness. In Mr. Martin's book only a few pages are reserved for the account of the West Street, Snowfields, Zoar, Westminster, Spitalfields, Wapping, Deptford, and Poplar Chapels and Preaching-Houses. The only complaint one could make is that the work is all too brief. Perhaps more will be said by the same author. This is a good appetizer. The latest of the Wesley Historical Society's Lectures is a worthy member of a worthy series.

ROBERT F. WEARMOUTH

Notes on Wesley's Forty-Four Sermons. By John Lawson. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

The legal standing of the Methodist Church as defined in the Model Deed, upon which our various properties are held, was, and is, contingent upon the observance of the Doctrine or Practice contained 'in certain Notes on the New Testament and in the first four volumes of Sermons written and published by John Wesley'. These two books constitute a body of experimental, practical Theology whose significance is vital. For many years the number was said to be fifty-three sermons but this was due to the varied contents of some editions published at different times by Wesley. In 1787-8 he issued a complete edition of his works and he regarded this issue as standard. The first four volumes contain the forty-four sermons here discussed and annotated. Legal opinion has confirmed these as the norm. Of the forty-four sermons printed forty-three are by John Wesley and one ('Awake thou that sleepest') by Charles. The contrast in style is most evident, for John Wesley was always logical and convincing while Charles was eloquent and emotional. The notes here given are in the nature of introduction, explanation, and illumination. To read an eighteenth-century book and be ignorant of the history of the times and the meaning of words therein understood, is to enter on a course of study that is burdensome and profitless. This has been the experience of many who have attempted the task. The author by his wise brief notes sets the various points in their historical setting and further explains the changes in meaning which have taken place. The result of his research is to make the young Methodist preacher feel the sermons' timelessness. They were written for a former generation but as here interpreted they have a wide and modern significance. To have accomplished this is to have rendered a fine service. The impact of Wesley, by means of these discourses, on the life of his day was profound and as here discussed they help us all to make our message vital for today. The sermons 'are neither a creed nor a compendium of Theology. They are a practical guide to the work of preaching. Wesley assumed as a basis that the Methodists accept the traditional body of Christian doctrine, particularly as taught in the Church of his upbringing.' Wesley showed us how and what to preach and that task is imperative for the Methodist witness today. The author of these notes has not only used Sugden's larger work as a basis of his comments, but has added many of his own and his distinctive contribution is of the greatest value to preachers, young and old, local and ordained, today. This book, well made and carefully arranged, has been produced at a price within the reach of all whose study of the standards is a condition of their acceptance as Methodist preachers.

J. HENRY MARTIN

Methodist Churchmanship and Its Implications. By H. Watkin-Jones. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

An Approach to Church Membership. By Conrad Skinner. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

The issue of Dr. Watkin-Jones's little book is opportune, in view of our present concern with the Mission and Message of Methodism, and it well deserves a place in any list of books recommended to the average Church member for reading and

study. Its theme is quickly stated — the Methodist Church is a Church and not a sect. The sectarian spirit implies a limited view of Christian truth and tends to be exclusive rather than inclusive. 'But a Church stands for the whole truth of God, and welcomes into its fellowship lovers of Christ of every type.' Dr. Watkin-Jones urges that we are to look upon Methodism as called to maintain this catholicity of teaching and outlook, and he outlines the implications of such a view in six brief chapters which deal with Doctrine, the Sacraments, Fellowship, the Pastoral Office, Worship, and Evangelism. The ground is, of course, familiar, but we are grateful to the author for a useful survey of an important subject to which the Conference has so recently directed the attention of our people.

Mr. Conrad Skinner is well known both as a writer and as the Chaplain of the Leys School, a post he has held for nearly thirty years. Out of his long experience he has now given us a very suggestive manual of preparation for Church membership, which will be found especially valuable in dealing with young people who have received, or are receiving, a secondary education. The matter is excellent; Mr. Skinner knows the questions young people are asking and he knows how to answer them, and his easy, conversational style is a delight to read. Anyone to whom there falls the high privilege and duty of preparing young people for Church membership will find this book helpful indeed. For guidance on what to talk about and how to go about it the book is really first-rate. Nor is its usefulness or appeal limited to this. All who are feeling impelled to look again at the meaning of our churchmanship will find in it a great deal to stimulate the mind and warm the heart.

DERRICK CUTHBERT

The Religion of Dr. Johnson and Other Studies. By William T. Cairns. (Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.)

This is an altogether delightful book. Dr. Cairns belonged to the family famous in the annals of the United Presbyterian Church of years ago. He spent his ministerial life in two charges, one at Abernethy, and the other at Edinburgh. He died in 1944. There is an introduction (without any clue to the writer of it), which gives an outline of Dr. Cairns' life, and states that the five essays in the volume were all prepared, in the first place, as addresses to various societies to which the author belonged. It was well worth while to collect and issue these charming essays. The first is a careful and sympathetic study of the religion of Dr. Johnson. The second is a very welcome vindication of John Newton in his relations with Cowper. It is really infuriating to note how the legend persists about Newton's harsh religion driving the poet mad. As a matter of fact every candid person who knows the facts would agree that the bluff, hearty, humorous sailor was about as healthy a companion as Cowper could have had, and, in any case, the poet's madness showed itself years before he met Newton. The next essay is on the constituents of a good hymn, and is, in our judgement, the least valuable thing in the book. The fourth study is an intensely interesting study of Jupiter Carlyle and the Scottish Moderates — oddly sympathetic as coming from one of Seceder stock. The last essay is a study of the diary of James Melvill, the nephew of that Andrew Melvill who was the successor of John Knox. If Dr. Cairns left any other writings of this quality we sincerely hope that they may see the light.

HENRY BETT

The World of Washington Irving. By Van Wyck Brooks. (J. M. Dent & Sons. 15s.)

This is the first volume of a series which the distinguished critic Van Wyck Brooks is writing on the literary history of the United States. The reviewer faced the reading of its three hundred and eighty pages with some distaste. He now confesses that he

found it a fascinating introduction to a hitherto undiscovered world. In it, amid a host of travellers, naturalists, historians, poets, critics, novelists, and political philosophers, there are three outstanding names — Washington Irving (1783-1859), Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), and Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49). Irving was a thorough-paced New Yorker, yet a great traveller in Europe, saturated with the culture and traditions of the Old World. Cooper, achieving world-wide fame, combined democratic principles with Tory tastes. Poe, that incredible by-product of a country seething with vitality and youthful confidence, became the master of Baudelaire and the French decadents. The social and political background of the period shows the passing of power from the hands of the cultured landed classes of the South to those of pushful, industrial, and commercial Philistines — mainly of the North. A moving chapter analyzes the *ethos* of the backward-looking South, with its Anglophile Cavalier-Tory traditions, its practice of slavery, its abhorrence of equality, and, in general, its defiant and tragic refusal to march in step with 'progressive' civilization. The whole book enables English readers to understand the American point of view in the half-century after the Declaration of Independence. The exacerbation produced by rebellion and unnatural family strife by no means undermined old instinctive loyalty and the admiration and deference felt for the Mother Country. But while Eastern and Southern states remained for two generations English at heart and spoke still of 'His Majesty's Ship' in the harbour, a new continent on the West was being rapidly opened up by a motley influx from every nation in Europe. A generation emerged that 'knew not Joseph'. The Englishry of East and South was challenged by the rise of the Middle and farther West. It is impossible not to be stirred by the spectacle of perhaps the greatest and most original social experiment in history. This amazing enterprise of diverse racial and cultural types, shedding their old European habits, fusing into a new nationality, establishing a new sort of community, exploring and exploiting a virgin continent of which the physical features — mountains, forests, lakes, rivers, plains — were colossal, stimulated, indeed, we may say over-stimulated, human faculties, and produced results that were often splendid, but not infrequently crude, fantastic, and repellent. American literature naturally reflected this mood of high-spirited energy. Even this literary history, written more than a century later, strikes the same note of vitality. We Europeans are the product of an old civilization and are liable to fits of weariness and disillusion, as if our season, in its richness and decay, were autumn. Mr. Wyck Brooks supplies a potent antidote. His pages throb with the unconquerable belief that the 'year's at the Spring'. Methodists will relish the handsome tribute that he pays to the apostolic labours of Francis Asbury and his brave companions. F. BROMPTON HARVEY

John Bright: A Study. By Margaret E. Hirst. (Headley Brothers. 5s.)

This study will appeal to all who desire an intimate knowledge of a great and good man but have neither time nor inclination for a long and detailed biography. The writer deals briefly with the major interests of John Bright's life — the Anti-Corn Law League; Church Rates; Ireland and India; Domestic Reform and Extension of the Franchise — and allows him to speak for himself in the speeches which moved great crowds of his countrymen in the middle years of the last century. As we read we feel the beating heart of a great humanitarian, who saw the evil of government by a small and privileged class and said: 'If a class has failed, let us trust the nation.' It is easy to understand the popularity which for most of his life he enjoyed. He held that for nations and individuals alike there are 'unchangeable and eternal principles of the moral law to guide us'. On several occasions when peace and war were in the balance his unswerving adherence to these principles placed him in a small and unpopular minority. To his conscience and his religious convictions as a Friend he

remained ever faithful, and he enjoyed, in consequence, the respect and even affection of all upright men, irrespective of opinion and political party. We warmly commend this invigorating little book.

W. L. DOUGHTY

J. R. Green. By W. G. Addison. (S.P.C.K. 6s.)

Were Carlyle writing today of 'The Hero as Man of Letters', he might well choose J. R. Green as one of his exemplars. Poor, without friends, struggling always against desperate ill-health, no man ever said with better right than 'Johnny Green': 'If I fail, I have at any rate fought.' But though he died at forty-five, he did not fail. His place is secure among historians; his *Short History of the English People* is a national document. Such books as Trevelyan's *English Social History* are now orthodox enough, but Green was the heretic who blazed the trail. To use his own words, he chose 'to give more space to Chaucer than to Cressy, to Caxton than to the strife of Yorkist and Lancastrian, to the Poor Law of Elizabeth than to her victory at Cadiz, to the Methodist Revival than to the escape of the Young Pretender'. It was a significant change of emphasis. Grant Duff declared that if Green lived he would become the greatest English historian since Gibbon. Alas, he died all too soon. In words to his wife he may be said to have written his own epitaph, 'I know what men will say of me — he died learning'. Mr. Addison's little book is an illuminating and timely tribute to an heroic genius.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

William Temple: an Estimate and an Appreciation. By W. R. Matthews, F. Harrison, S. C. Carpenter, W. G. Peck, Carl Heath, and A. E. Baker. (James Clarke. 7s. 6d.)

Ronnie Knox's delicious description of young William Temple in *Absolute and Abitofhell* remains essentially true:

First, from the Public Schools — Lernaean Bog —
No paltry Bulwark, stood the Form of Og.
A man so broad, to some he seemed to be
Not one, but all Mankind in Effigy:
Who, brisk in Term, a Whirlwind in the Long,
Did everything by turns, and nothing wrong,
Bill'd at each Lecture-hall from Thames to Tyne
As Thinker, Usher, Statesman, or Divine.

The late Archbishop's admirers will welcome this collection of papers dealing with Temple as Philosopher, Bishop, Church Reformer, Social Thinker, Oecumenical Leader, and as Man. While not achieving first-rate distinction in any field, Temple was, perhaps, unique in his massive versatility. The Dean of St. Paul's and Mr. Peck are frank enough to suggest his limitations and inconsistencies as philosophical and social thinker. This great healthy-minded Christian with his all-round combination of qualities — religious conviction, strength of character, intellectual acumen, great-heartedness, courage, cheerful equanimity, charm, tolerance, simplicity, and so on — was not only the inevitable head of the Anglican communion, but also the spiritual leader of the nation and an outstanding figure in World Christianity. These varied estimates show that with all its richness his personality was 'integrated' in the worship and service of God. Being so sure of his own fundamental beliefs he not only endured opponents with smiling fortitude, but appreciated their point of view. This made him a rare synthesizer. Amazed at one of his feats of reconciliation, Dr. Matthews once said to him, 'If you had been at the Council of Nicea, we need not have lost the Arians!' While this book enables one to understand one's lurking suspicion that William Temple remained a magnificent amateur, a gigantic lovable Public School boy, yet, next to Winston Churchill, he was the greatest Englishman of his time.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

Azariah of Dornakal. By Carol Graham. (S.C.M. 6s.)

The first Bishop of Dornakal may deservedly be recognized as one of the greatest Indians of our time. The range of the imagination of the Anglican missionaries who trained him is shown by the fact that more than thirty years later, in an India making rapid strides toward complete self-government, so far from there being a score of Indian bishops, it seems hard to find a man to step into Azariah's shoes. This is also a proof of the greatness of this spiritual pioneer. His story, told by a deaconess who revered him, is one of steadfast devotion to 'the sole object of our existence as Christians — witness to Christ'. Beginning in a derelict brewery in a remote Telugu village, this Tamil missionary built up a great diocese, almost as large as England, lived to consecrate its cathedral, where thirty-five years before there was not a single Christian, and trained scores of men and women evangelists in making clean villages and clean minds. They watched their Bishop rising early to study his Bible, learnt to give offerings rather than make collections, and heard him asking not 'Are you saved?' but 'Are you saving?' Methodists for whom 'Mass-movements' suggest Medak in Hyderabad should read of this parallel development in an adjacent field. Friends of India who remember the hard task young Azariah faced, his smiling patience, his eager faith, his co-operative spirit, his passion that the heart of India should be won for Christ, will not faint with weariness in watching for the birth of the United Church of South India which Azariah did not live to see. By his lifelong effort for the self-government of the Indian Church, while resisting every form of Indianization which was not thoroughly Christian, Azariah, more than any other single contemporary, has moulded the form of the future Christian Church in India.

G. STAINTON MORRIS

Safety Last. By Rita F. Snowden. (Epworth Press. 6s.)

This book is a collection of stories illustrating the 'greater love' which leads men and women to surrender their all to a person or a cause. Some of them are missionary stories, suitable to a Junior or Intermediate Guild, as also are the 'yarns' of bravery in times of war and peace. The author has chosen to confine them geographically to the South Seas, though the heroes and heroines are of many classes, colours, creeds and callings. They are told with an economy of words which occasionally involves a loss of clarity, but all are written with dramatic intensity, and many of them are 'thrillers'. Indeed, there are here enough facts stranger than fiction to provide for many novels and books of adventure. All the stories illustrate the power of the Gospel to reclaim and redeem and should prove a useful storehouse for youth leaders who are anxious to keep before their young people the fact that the greatest adventure of all is the Christian way of life. The writing of the book has involved a great amount of research and collection of facts, and there is an exceptionally liberal acknowledgement of sources of information.

T.H.M.

Autobiography, 1891-1941. By Gilbert Thomas. (Chapman & Hall. 12s. 6d.)

'This narrative of fifty years', says Mr. Thomas, 'has been written in the hope that two familiar and comfortable dicta are true: namely, that the story of any life is worth telling, if it be told simply, intimately, and honestly, and that what interests the writer will interest the reader.' Mr. Thomas's autobiography satisfies these demands. He has had an interesting life, and though, as he says, like Logan Pearsall Smith, he prefers the 'scallawags and ne'er-do-wells' to the illustrious, he has known, and known intimately, many people both respectable and distinguished. The book reveals that sensitive nature which is likely to understand the characters of other people; and the writer has the art of expressing his feelings in a particularly

pleasing manner. As poet, essayist, and critic, who has also worked in two publishing houses, edited a magazine, and reviewed hundreds of books, he has had a literary experience more varied than almost any living writer, and has found a public for everything he has written. But, though this shows a sympathy with the feelings of the 'general', he is far from being a mere follower of ordinary opinion, as is sufficiently clearly proved by the fact that he was an advocate of peace during the first world war, and suffered imprisonment for his convictions. Turning to the book itself, we may say that we have found special pleasure in reading Mr. Thomas's account of his connexion with the firm of Chapman & Hall, which he owed to the kindliness and discernment of Arthur Waugh; and perhaps even more pleasure in reading what he has to say about Cowper, of whom, as is well known, he has written an excellent life. Here, I think, he corrects some common errors as to the poet's religious views — errors which have not only harmed Cowper's reputation but have done grave injustice to his friend and collaborator, John Newton. The further enjoyment of this pleasant book must be left to the reader, who will find variety and richness of interest in Mr. Thomas's chronicle of his half-century.

China. By Y. L. Yiang and Neville Whyment. (Macdonald. 5s.)

Drs. Liang and Whyment have set themselves the task of compressing the 4000 years of history of 460 millions of people into the space of 140 pages. A book about Britain on the same scale would only need to be thirty-five pages long on the basis of time or fourteen on that of population. But the authors of this book have successfully combined compression with clearness and fullness of information. There are five chapters — on Chinese civilization, Chinese history, the impact of the West, Modern China, Resistance, and Reconstruction. In the chapter on Chinese Civilization the essential knowledge is set forth about language, literature, family, agriculture, sculpture, painting, ceramics, inventions, medicine, mathematics, and recreations. Some of these subjects are more fully treated than others; but there is more than a glimpse of each and all of these facets of China's culture. Some fifty pages are given to the outstanding events of China's long history. In all the chapters, wherever one turns the page, there is reliable and proportioned statement. The authors write for the serious reader and find small room for emotion. The chapter on the Impact of the West could not be altogether pleasant reading if it was to tell the truth. Yet at least the vexatious question of opium is generously as well as accurately treated. For those who desire to pursue the study of China there is an excellent bibliography and Dr. Wellington Koo's preface is as sane as it is timely and necessary. This is a book for the serious student to have on his shelves. Happily, in these days of expensive books, it is to be had for a modest price. Few who possess it will be content with one reading. As a book of reference it is handier than any other up-to-date book on China. It would be still more useful if, in the next edition, an index were included. This is likely to be the standard short work on China for many years.

HAROLD B. RATTENBURY

The Jewish Home. By Ignaz Maybaum. (James Clarke. 7s. 6d.)

'This book', in the words of its author, a former rabbi of Berlin, 'opens wide the windows of the Jewish home.' Only those who have been fortunate enough to experience something of the atmosphere of the true Jewish home can begin to appreciate the extent to which the very survival of the Jewish community is bound up with it. It is a privilege which, in the nature of things, very few Christians have enjoyed. The tragedy of today is that so many Jews, particularly those of the younger generation, have missed it too. This book is therefore of primary importance to the Jew himself. It is a reinterpretation of traditional habits and observances and a

plea for their maintenance or their restoration. Dr. Maybaum is under no illusions as to the causes which have led to the break-up of the Jewish home. His analysis of contemporary life in some of its forms is as sound as it is searching. Nor does he under-estimate the difficulties which lie in the way of restoration. Sabbath observance, for example, even in normal times, is an economic and not merely a religious problem for the Jew, while the observance of the dietary laws places a very considerable burden upon him. But neither is Dr. Maybaum under any illusion as to the value to his people of these traditions, these symbols of the eternal in the midst of time. As he describes them there is a peculiar charm about the manifold observances that surround the home life of the Jew from birth to death — which the rabbis described as the 'kiss of God', because they saw in it not merely cessation of life here, but entrance into eternity. The book has a twofold value for the Christian also. As a window opened wide into the Jewish home it affords him an opportunity of getting to know his neighbour better. This is of great value, for, says Dr. Maybaum, 'I know from my own experience that between the thoroughly Jewish home and the Christian home good-neighbourly relations and sincere friendship are possible'. But there is 'more to it than that'. There is a sense in which 'the Jewish people must mirror mankind in the microcosm of its life', and in the problems and privileges of the Jewish home the Christian may find the key to a better understanding of his own. It was, after all, in a Jewish home that his own faith had its birth.

WILLIAM W. SIMPSON

Palestine, The Land of My Adoption. By J. W. Clapham. (Pickering & Inglis. 12s. 6d.)

We have counted over thirty-five errors in this book, and several self-contradictory statements. Typical examples are the author's references to the Biblical Gihon. On page 43 he identifies it with the Birket es Sultan; on page 18 he describes the so-called 'Pool of Hezekiah' as genuine; and on page 70 he says that Hezekiah cut the Siloam Tunnel, which, in 2 Chronicles xxxii. 30, began at Gihon. The latter is, of course, correct, and Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain. These conflicting statements, in their turn, disagree with the author's map, which has other mistakes. He is similarly careless with his details about Bethlehem. The present Church of the Nativity does not date from Helena, but from Justinian; there are four rows of columns in the nave, not two; its wooden rafters were put there in 1842, not in the reign of Edward IV; Justin Martyr was not 'Apostolic', his *Dialogue with Trypho* was written in A.D. 155, and he said nothing about the authenticity of the Nativity location. And so we might go on. There are fourteen Stations of the Cross, not thirteen, only nine of them in the Via Dolorosa. Mizpah, on page 61, is correctly located at Tel en Nasbeh, but this conflicts with the map, which places it at Nebi Samwil. The map entitled 'Jerusalem' is not a map of the Holy City at all. It is apparently an old and very faulty attempt to mark locations in Bible times. Descriptions of places, many as they were after the first World War, are intermingled with hymns and long Biblical quotations and much sermonizing. There are several chapters supporting Jewish claims which quote prophecies mostly referring to the Babylonian Exile but here applied to Zionism. The book would be better without this dabbling in inflammatory politics. Some of the pictures are good.

LESLIE FARMER

Executor and Trustee Service. By E. S. Tomlin. (Crosby Lockwood & Son Ltd. 5s. net.)

Of the making of wills and the proving thereof, there is no end. How complicated and uncertain it seems to the layman! How often we have read of great jurists and wise men who have made mistakes and whose wills have been disputed! What a boon it is to have a short book, written in non-technical language by an expert! In

Executor and Trustee Service the writer, Mr. E. S. Tomlin, brings his long experience of executor and trustee business to bear on problems which come to us all. The book is divided into four parts and is admirably arranged. In Part I he deals with the 'Acquisition of Business', in Part II with the 'Advantages of Appointing a Trust Corporation' and in Part III with 'Questions and Answers'. The second half of the volume (Part IV) is headed 'General Information', and the items are in alphabetical order. Legal terms are simply defined and the executor is supplied with just the information he needs. This is a practical book, clearly written, and it will remove a burden from those who are making or proving a will. It might make all the difference between accepting a heavy responsibility and exercising a privilege.

L.F.C.

From My New Shelf

BY C. RYDER SMITH

The Message and Mission of Methodism. (Epworth Press. 1s.)

We are often told that there are many people who ask 'What does Methodist stand for?' and can find no satisfactory answer. Here is the answer, clear, comprehensive, and informed. It is the report of a Committee, appointed by the Conference in 1943, but let this put no one 'off'. The reports of some committees can hardly help being dull. I have tried my own hand with a few — *experto crede!* But here is a splendid exception. There is nothing apologetic in it. On the contrary, it rings with certainty. Neither is there any 'blinking of the situation'. It boldly 'faces up' to the position today. Again, there is nothing merely denominational, for the first of the five subjects is 'The Message of the Church'. But the second, 'The Methodist Witness', speaks unhesitantly about 'Salvation by Faith' and 'Assurance' and 'Holiness' and 'Fellowship'. In the third there is a masterly analysis of the challenge of Humanism, with all its insidiousness, in the life of today. The fourth, on 'The Church in Action', rightly begins with 'Worship'. It is here that the great failure of the whole Church roots. Then there are pertinent pages on the Bible, the teaching of doctrine, the secret of fellowship, Social Witness, and so on. Finally there are 'Proposals'. While these include 'propaganda' in its modern forms, for the most part there is little novel about them, but — 'If ye *know* these things, blessed are ye if ye *do* them'. An experienced member of the recent Conference told me that its 'great moment' came when Dr. Harold Roberts presented this Report. There are people who cry out for 'a lead from the Conference'. Let them be silent now — and follow the 'lead'.

The Revised Standard Version of the New Testament (Nelson & Sons, New York, \$2.)

An Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament (Nelson & Sons, New York.)

It is interesting to compare this new version of 'the New Covenant', to use its alternative title, with the Revised Version of 1881. In the one case it was the Convocation of Canterbury that set the enterprise going, in the other an 'International' Council of Christian Education that represents the Protestant Churches of U.S.A. and Canada. Both versions are revisions — the one of the King James Version of 1611, the other of the Standard Version, which is the American variant of the English 'Revised Version'. In the one case an English Committee invited the collaboration of an American Committee; in the other these roles were reversed, but the war prevented the giving of British help. Indeed, the revisers now, save for James Moffatt until his death, are all scholars from the United States, for there is no Canadian in their number. Here is yet another sign that the hegemony of the English-speaking

world is passing to America. Finally, while the scholars of 1881 set themselves to revise an 'English classic', the present revisers were instructed to work 'in the direction' of its style. In 1881 a clamour arose, partly from those who cried out that they were being robbed of their 'grandmothers' Bible', and partly from those who seemed to suppose that a Committee could produce another 'English classic' if it liked. The printing and *format* of the new version is a delight. Each page is given a rather useless heading. Accents are marked for the rarer proper names. There are footnotes about important 'variant readings', etc. A number of 'references' are given, including the Synoptic parallels. An 'Epistle' is called a 'Letter'. There is a brief but adequate preface. Some members of the committee, acting under the chairman, Dean Luther A. Weigl of Yale, have contributed to a longer and separately printed 'Introduction'. This explains at greater length why the revision has been undertaken and on what principles it has been carried out. On the whole it is a good piece of work, though there is not a little repetition and it is not beyond criticism in details. For instance, it is stated that the word 'Messiah' is used in the Psalms of a 'promised king', and that men are not grouped into 'saints and sinners' in the Old Testament; and Paul is said to have written 'in the plain, straightforward terms familiar in common life' — for instance, one supposes, in the first chapter of Colossians. There are three obvious *criteria* for a translation of the Bible — it should be accurate; it should be 'understood of the people'; it should be written in a good literary style. Having 'looked up' a fairly large selection of passages, I, at least, think that in the main the new version passes these tests. Whether it will prove an 'English classic' may be known in A.D. 2046. It seems to me better than the versions by individual scholars who have set themselves to translate anew and not to revise an older version — but then I have never taken to 'Moffatt'. Of course one of the chief difficulties in translation is to use all three *criteria* at once. It is the second that has led to most changes in the New Version. But is there not a fourth? Ought a reader to be aware that he is reading a translation — and, in particular, that it is a translation of books written long ago in an environment very different from his own? Or, more broadly, ought a translation to reproduce anything of the 'atmosphere' of the writers of the originals? Or ought the translation to read as if it were an original written yesterday? In spite of all the supposed claims of 'the man in the street', I myself think that a reader ought to have some slight sub-conscious feeling that a translation is literally a 'translation'. Perhaps it is here that the new version is most open to criticism.

Some samples of the new renderings may be given, selected almost haphazard. Our old friend, 'And it came to pass', is just omitted — in other words, the Committee has here chosen to omit a phrase that illustrated the Hebraic atmosphere of Palestine in the first century. Besides, it often marks a transition to another situation. The phrase that expresses the authoritative emphasis of Jesus is rendered 'Truly, (truly), I say unto you', but here the translators admit that they were baffled. Sometimes they render 'and' by other conjunctions. For example, in Matthew viii. 32 we have: 'So they came out and went into the swine.' The rendering 'When we cry "Abba! Father!" it is the Spirit himself bearing witness . . .' is given without so much as a footnote to show that there is another translation. Surely 'less than the least' is not beyond the man-in-the-street, but it is watered down to 'very least'. 'If your eye is sound' is not only a doubtful translation, but it confuses metaphors and it is not current English. Sometimes *skandalon* is rendered 'temptation to sin', which misses the point that it means 'a good thing gone wrong'. The Greek terms *denarii* and *stadia* are used instead of 'pence' and 'furlongs', but 'pound' is retained for *mina* and the widow's 'mites' are called 'copper coins'. 'Look out for the dogs' is used for 'Beware of dogs', but perhaps Americans don't put 'Beware of the dog' outside houses. In Hebrews, *archēgos* is rightly rendered by 'pioneer'. Can a 'desolating sacrilege' be 'set

up? Surely 'abomination of desolation' is better, just because it recalls, or should recall, the Jerusalem of Jesus' day. If a reader refuses to learn anything about the environment of the New Testament writers, he will be quite unable to understand New Testament Apocalyptic. I see that my samples have chiefly illustrated objections. It would be quite possible to make a list on the other side — for instance, in the use of 'you' and 'your' for 'thou' and 'thy' except in 'liturgical' passages, or in the abandonment of such forms as 'hath' and 'doeth'. But to translate *paracletos* by 'Counselor' seems to me a disaster. I had expected 'Helper', which could also have been used in 1 John ii. 1. As there is no adequate English word, ought we not to use 'Paraclete', and explain it to such men-in-the-street as have 'ears to hear'? Must the Bible have no terms of its own? However, there can be no doubt that this book is what its publishers say that it is, 'the most important publication of 1946'.

The Idea of Nature. By R. G. Collingwood. (Oxford Press, 1951.)

The late Professor Collingwood left a rich legacy behind him. This book is its first part. Most of it had not received his final revision but many writers would have thought it ready for Press as it stands. It is said that a legal document, when once it is understood, ought to be so clear that it leaves no room for any ambiguities in meaning. Professor Collingwood was a master of this kind of clarity. Here he takes 'nature' or the universe as the centre of a philosophical treatise. He delineates the prevailing concepts in each of 'three periods of constructive cosmological thinking' — the Greek, beginning with Thales; the Renaissance, which here centres in the seventeenth century; and the Modern. Under each period he provides a lucid exposition of the process of thought, correcting some common errors. His criticism, period by period, is as lucid as his description. It must not be taken that other specialists would agree with him everywhere — for instance, he himself registers a serious disagreement with the late Professor A. E. Taylor about Platonism — but in the main this is likely to be the authoritative account of its subject for a long time. Underlying each of the three systems of thought he finds a more or less conscious use of analogy — the Greeks taking it for granted that the universe is alive, the men of the Renaissance that it is like a machine, and the moderns working under our eyes to the concept that nature, like man, is fundamentally historical. The last contention may surprise, but Professor Collingwood seems to make out his case. He holds that materialism is merely out of date now. He holds that Alexander and Whitehead are the first British philosophers of the front rank since Hume. Not the least of the book's excellencies is its account of their philosophies. There is a warning, mostly implicit, against the assumption that with the defeat of materialism Christian theism is safe. Professor Collingwood modestly disclaims any attempt to define his own philosophical system. The question with which he ends his volume is not 'What then is the truth?' but 'Where do we go from here?' His answer is that a similar examination of 'the idea of 'history' is now due, and it is good news that he has left behind him a like series of lectures on that subject.

The Doctrine of the Unity of the Church in the Works of Khomyakov and Moehler. By Serge Bolshakoff. (S.P.C.K. 18s.)

Historians say that in the realm of politics the Rise of Russia is the distinctive mark of the last century and a half. This, of course, is also the period of her greatness in literature and music. The same is true of theology. Every student of religion will have noticed that all the leaders of the Russian religious renaissance quote Khomyakov. For instance, Dr. Bolshakoff gives us some sentences of Berdyaev — 'Khomyakov was a theologian of genius. In him the Orthodox East became conscious of itself, expressed its original religious way'. A volume about him is, therefore, very welcome, particularly one that deals with its subject so thoroughly as Dr. Bolshakoff's.

The book is not very happily named. Its real subject is Khomyakov's doctrine of the Church. This was defined in a small book called *The Church is One*, which its author, fearing the censorship of his day, sought to publish outside Russia, but which did not find its way into print until after his death. A large part of its contents is quoted in the chapter that is the focus of the book. Dr. Bolshakoff, however, is not content to expound this. He gives us chapters, all well documented, that describe its antecedents and sequel. He tells us the story of Khomyakov's life; describes his philosophy and his theory of history; shows how the Englishman Palmer, seeking the recognition of the Anglican Church by its 'Greek' sister, provoked Khomyakov to think out his theology; outlines the controversies that followed; shows how closely the Roman theologian Moehler, in his earlier period, taught a very similar doctrine to Khomyakov; and surveys the ways in which more recent Russian theologians have reacted to their forerunner's teaching. Dr. Bolshakoff has not been studying his subject for twenty years in vain. He knows it through and through. One of the minor merits of his book is a series of notes to tell us something about the many writers to whom he needs to refer. This is especially useful when they are Russians — though Dr. Bolshakoff pursues the method even with such a one as Newman! There is a bibliography of some twenty pages. (On page 281 'may seem' should read 'may not seem'.)

Khomyakov began with the concept that the Church is the society of the Holy Spirit. This, of course, is Pauline teaching and common to Christendom. He went on to maintain that the one secret of its life is *agape*. Everything else is only the expression of this love. Since the Holy Spirit indwells the Church, the latter is infallible. This infallibility has no inevitable organ — though the seven General Councils served for this in the early Christian centuries. In essentials the infallible Church is also immutable. Khomyakov will have nothing to do with anything like Newman's doctrine of development. No one outside the Church can understand it, and therefore outsiders criticize it in vain. Even within the Church reason can only imperfectly describe its nature. There is only one Church, says this Slavophile, and this is the Church of the East. At the first schism the Roman Church did not so much sin against theology by adding the *Filioque* as sin against brotherly love by its arbitrary methods. As it has sinned, it is no true Church. Again, it has always appealed overmuch to reason, as have all the 'churches' that have separated from it. Again, Rome has always relied too much on law and authority; Khomyakov's 'pet aversion' is the Pope. Of the Free Churches of the West he seems to have known little except that they were 'separatist'. He paid lip-service at least to the doctrine of Episcopal Succession, but it is not really integral to his theory. There is no need to say that his whole doctrine lays itself open to criticism — particularly under the questions 'What of authority?' and 'What of history?' Later Russian writers, who like Khomyakov, know the Eastern Church from within, have pointed out his deficiencies, yet they are all his disciples too, for his starting-point is theirs. They all believe — and claim that the East has always believed — in the primacy of the Church herself. Through the indwelling Spirit her life expresses itself in worship, in holy men, in Creed, Sacraments and Ministry, in manifold rites, in the use of ikons, and so on. The chief of these are inevitable and unchanging expressions, but they are still expressions. Surely there is truth here. This 'first monograph' on Khomyakov's 'ecclesiology' gives one an appetite for a book of Dr. Bolshakoff's own, which he promises us, on *The Christian Unity*.

The Swedish Church. By H. M. Waddams. (S.P.C.K. 6s.)

In many ways the history of the Church in Sweden is best treated as part of that of Scandinavian Christianity, but there is a special reason for treating it by itself. At the Reformation the Swedish Church, like the Anglican, kept the 'apostolical

succession' unbroken, and consequently the two are now 'in full communion'. Curiously, however, the Swedish Church is also 'in full communion' with the other Lutheran Churches, of which some have abandoned episcopacy and none have an unbroken 'succession'. It cannot be said that before this century Sweden contributed much to Christian history. It had only two names, St. Birgitta and Swedenborg, of more than local note. Yet the Swedish Church has long been of general interest because it presents the most successful example of the unity of Church and State. The Riksdag, or Parliament, represented the Church as well as the State, for centuries, and ever since it preferred Gustavus Vasa to the Pope, it has successfully resisted the religious innovations of kings — even of Gustavus Adolphus himself. On the other hand, it was spiritually quiescent. In the twentieth century, however, the Church of Sweden, in what might be called the era of Söderblom, is at last much more than a study in 'establishment'. Lund is one of the chief seats of the theological learning of Christendom. Still more, the Swedish Church has taken a leading place in the Oecumenical movement. Some interesting particulars may just be noted — Confirmation, a comparatively recent innovation, is administered by priests, not bishops; texts are prescribed for all preachers every Sunday; the present Bishop of Stockholm was elected while still a layman. Mr. Waddams has wisely appended a translation of the Order of Sunday Morning Service, adopted in 1942, which the Swedes call 'High Mass'. Except at one important point it might be used even in an aggressively Protestant Church. It is so drawn up that the Holy Communion may be included. In the Foreword we read, 'The bread and the wine are the seal of (Christ's) covenant, the sign of His personal presence, wherever His remembrance is celebrated', but in the Administration the priest says to each communicant 'The body of Christ, given for thee' and 'The blood of Christ, shed for thee', and dismisses each 'table' with the words 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose body and blood ye have received, preserve you unto everlasting life'. There is here, no doubt, designedly large room left for variety of interpretation. Mr. Waddam's book is a brief and useful account of the main facts in the story of the Swedish Church.

'Pilot' Prayers. By a Christian Humanist. (Epworth Press. 4s.)

We are often told that the Free Churches do not teach their people how to pray. This 'Christian Humanist', who prefers to remain anonymous, determined to teach himself. He took the daily subjects suggested in 'The Pilot' and wrote out a prayer based upon each of them. He revised these prayers 'during many years' and here they are. There is a prayer for every day in the year. The danger, of course, is that another Christian may use the book just to save himself trouble. If, however, he ponders the prayer for each day — and even thereafter writes out his own prayer on the same subject — this book will prove a 'pilot' indeed. Perhaps the best way to give some idea of the quality of the book is to quote one of the prayers, chosen at random: 'Grant, O Lord God, if it be Thy will, that I may be at peace with all men, and free from inward discord and strain. Save me from being weak and querulous, resentful and fault-finding. May I never, by ridicule, foster fatal ignorance; nor be unduly argumentative with those who dislike and resent discussion. Make me chary of blaming people; and keep me from getting soured by the supposed indifference and self-absorption of the world. For Christ's sake. Amen.' This is on 'Finding Fault'. The range of subjects is very wide. For instance, there are prayers on 'Forgiveness', 'Perils by the Way', 'Optimism', 'The Brotherhood of Man', 'Thought and Vision', and 'Love's Priesthood'. One could wish for an index of subjects, so that one could turn easily to a particular prayer, but, better still, let a reader ply the pages day by day and gradually make his own index. This book is worth it.

From Life to Life. By C. Drayton Thomas. (Rider & Co. 8s. 6d.)

The sub-title of this book is 'A unique record of After Death Communication between members of one Family'. A young fellow, whom Mr. Thomas calls 'Edgar', died at Vimy Ridge. His two aunts, and later his father, consulted the well-known 'sensitive' Mrs. Leonard, and they believed that through her and her 'control' Feda they talked with him. When two of the others passed away, they joined in the conversation from 'the other side'. Edgar's mother is not mentioned. When the last of the four, one of the aunts (who also practised Spiritualist writing), passed away, she left her records to Rev. Drayton Thomas, who has published much of them, with his own comments. He believes, of course, that Spiritualism is not a substitute for Christianity but a supplement to it.

There is another well-known account of such phenomena — that the medium or 'sensitive' gets into touch with the sub-consciousness of the inquirer and gives him what she finds there, it being remembered that there are many things in everyone's sub-consciousness that he has completely 'forgotten'. When reading the book, therefore, I looked for communications about things that the inquirers could never have known. The results were disappointing. For example, Edgar once said that on the upper part of such-and-such a page in such-and-such a book in the library a word would be found that was closely connected with the first World War. On examination the word 'air' was found. On reading this I picked six books haphazard from my shelves and turned in each to page 100. In every case I found a phrase which, taken from its context, could be applied to both World Wars. For example, the heading of page 100 in the first book was 'The Harvest of the Past'. Why did not Edgar say something quite definite — for instance, 'In such-and-such a book on page so-and-so there is the quotation "To be or not to be, that is the question"?' Again, while two of the four are once taken to the 'Seventh Sphere' and there see Christ, He does not come down to their level. Is this like Him? Four subjects are recurrent — the troubles of those on this side death, the ease of dying, the pleasures of those on the other side, and the way in which they try to help their dear ones here. Put beside this list four quotations from another puzzling book — 'After these things I saw . . . and behold, there was a throne set in heaven', 'And I saw in the midst of the throne . . . a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain', 'After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number', 'And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last . . . and I have the keys of death and the grave'. To say the least, is not the Spiritualist list out of focus? One reader at any rate has still to say '*Non liquet*'. Yet Spiritualism does seek to explore a realm of real phenomena, and if anyone wants to see how Spiritualists deal with it, this is the right kind of book.

John Henry Newman. By John Moody. (Sheed & Ward, 15s.)

The writer of this book, which bears the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York, is an American Catholic. Like Newman, he has in turn been a Low Church Anglican, a High Church Anglican, and a Roman Catholic. His book is the 'one complete biography' since Wilfrid Ward published his four volumes. It gives us a straightforward account of the story of Newman as seen from within the Roman Church. This means, of course, that wherever Protestantism and Romanism differ, the writer takes it for granted that Rome is right. On the other hand, again like Newman, he has many a good word to say for individual Protestants, and, one may add, many a critical word to say of individual Catholics. He is a careful writer, and again and again he has wisely allowed Newman to speak for himself. Like Newman, once more, he thinks that 'Liberalism' is *par excellence* the foe of religion, and that, whether Protestants know it or not, they are all on the way to atheism. Like his hero, again, he

takes materialism and humanism to be just two parts of one movement. For instance, he counts Mazzini among the materialists. All these things make him an accurate expositor of Newman's thought. He describes fairly the ways in which Newman was suspected and balked for years by some Catholic authorities, both in England and Rome. After Lytton Strachey's caricature, it is refreshing to get the true story of Manning and the Cardinal's hat and to have it put in right perspective. Catholic and Protestant scholars have long been in agreement about Newman's character and greatness, and this book registers their findings. It is both useful and timely.

An Autobiography. By Anthony Trollope. (Williams & Norgate. 8s. 6d.)

It is a good many years since I read Trollope's autobiography. Two passages stand out in retrospect. The first tells of the time when young T. was under the orders of a certain Colonel. Some banknotes were missing from their office and the Colonel pointed out that only they two had been in the room. 'Then, by God, you've taken them', cried T., and brought his fist down on a desk with such a bang that an ink-pot shot its ink into the Colonel's bosom! One of the keys to Trollope is there. The other passage is the one where he tells that he wrote his books to a time schedule — and so cut off his *queue* of readers for fifty years. There are two marvels about Trollope. How could he write so 'mechanically'? How did he come to know 'the clerical life' through and through? Part of the answer to the first question is that he pondered long before he wrote at all. Is there even a partial answer to the second question? One could have understood if this Nimrod's best novels had centred in the hunting field. Mr. Charles Morgan, who writes an introduction to this new and well-printed edition, thinks that the *Autobiography* will live, but seems doubtful about the novels. If any survive, no doubt it will be the Barsetshire series — but can these perish? Trollope wrote, says Mr. Morgan, in nineteenth century 'blinkers', and these suited him. Does this mean that he eschewed such subjects as the intimacies of sex? If so, are not Sir Walter and Dickens, for instance, 'in the same boat'? Or does it mean that Trollope chose one road and kept to it? If so, what about Jane Austen (whom Mr. Morgan mentions) and Hardy? At any rate multitudes today have turned from 'problem' novels and war novels and sophisticated novels to 'old Trollope' and his straightforwardness for solace and refreshment. When they have read three or four of his books, they will want to know more about the man — and here it is. Trollope left his autobiography to be published after his death. To quote its closing words, after all these years he again 'stretches out (his) hand . . . from the further shore' to 'all who have cared to read any among the many words that (he) has written'.

Bernard Shaw: W. B. Yeats — Letters to Florence Farr. Edited by Clifford Bax. (Home and Van Thal. 7s. 6d.)

In *Lear* the Fool is the wise man. Many will have thought that this was Bernard Shaw's chosen role, and here he writes: 'It is by jingling the bell of a jester's cap that I, like Heine, have made people listen to me.' He wrote this to Florence Farr, a woman just of 'independent means', an expert on the harpsichord, an actress, and ultimately a Vedantist. Shaw set himself to teach her to act as he understands acting. His letters are full of advice. This, of course, is often dull — but not with Mr. Shaw. 'I will not face the Judgement bar at the end of my life with you if I am unable to meet the question, "Why did you suffer her to do her work badly?"' 'I can only tell you again that you must keep on knocking your head against the stone wall until it gives way. Only, remember the saying "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you".' Evidently Mr. Shaw knows his Bible, but it did not avail him. Miss Farr was either strong enough or weak enough to go her own way. Yeats did not lecture her; he confided in her. He was able to go with her on the spiritist and astrological

tracks and some part of the way to Vedantism. He writes of Shaw's 'vulgarity', and says, 'Ah, if he had but style!' Shaw, in turn, scoffs at Yeats's love for 'cantilation'. Yeats once writes, 'I shall not trouble to make the meaning (of a play) clear'; with all his prefaces Shaw has always insisted that his plays are clear as daylight except to fools. Yeats once dreamt of Miss Farr alongside 'Jehovah Cut-throat'! These are only gleanings in the harvest of this small book. When Miss Farr went to Ceylon to end her life in Vedantism, she sent a black box to Mr. Bax which he was to open when she died. When this happened in 1917 he opened it and found these letters. Now, with Mrs. Yeats and Mr. Shaw's consent, he has seen his way to publish them. A few more elucidatory footnotes would have been welcome. It is interesting to find Mr. Shaw writing once from the Bell at Gloucester, where George Whitefield was born.

Ethiopia under Haile Selassie. By Christine Sandford. (Dent & Sons. 10s. 6d.)

'His sword was the inspiration of my pen.' Mrs. Sandford lived with her husband, Colonel Sandford, many years in Ethiopia, bringing up six children there. Willy-nilly her book is about the present Emperor, for he has been the leading figure throughout. The writer shows us a man of patience and intrepidity, sagacity and statesmanship, seeking — first as Regent and then as Emperor — to further the true interests of his country. Knowing Europe from his youth, he is trying to lead a backward people forward in the best of Western ways. Mrs. Sandford seems to have found it difficult to find any fault with him. Clearly, too, she understands and sympathizes with the Ethiopian people — or, rather, peoples — and she rarely mentions any of their shortcomings without some mitigating explanation. She keeps close to her subject, only referring to past history when this cannot be avoided. For instance, it is hardly more than implied that the present empire owes its size to conquests of about a century ago — that Sir Charles Napier, having captured Magdala and made an end of Theodore, left the country in chaos — and that the present royal house belongs to Shoa and not to the older seat of empire, Tigré, whose loyalty may still be doubted. Yet perhaps the writer's emphasis is right, for she shows clearly that now the face of Ethiopia is towards the sun-rise. For instance, in 1942 Haile Selassie was at last able to outlaw slavery. There are even some signs that the Church may some day cease to be the great drag on the wheel. In four introductory chapters the writer gives a brief account of the country and people. Here, again, defects are rather kept in the background. For instance, nothing is said of the Ethiopian diet of raw meat with its physical effects, and 'temporary marriage' is dismissed in little more than a sentence. Yet in the past defects have filled too much canvas in pictures of Ethiopia, and a change was over-due. Mrs. Sandford writes in a factual fashion, even when she is describing the brilliant and perilous work of her husband in the ousting of the Italians. This is as it should be, I suppose, but will the epic that that story demands ever be written? Mrs. Sandford's book is an effective plea for the land she loves just because, unlike Miss Pankhurst, she writes soberly and keeps to facts. She says nothing of the problem of Eritrea.

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

Happily for us last year's President and F. Brompton Harvey were friends from childhood, with an intimacy that only matured with the years. It is not difficult to write a brief book about a man of 'Archie' Harrison's eminence — but in this book, *Archibald W. Harrison, An Appreciation* (Epworth Press, 2s.), we see and hear and know the man himself. Mr. Harvey's literary skill is well known, and here he lavishes it in a very 'labour of love'. The picture is all the more vivid because the two friends sometimes disagreed — for instance, about Oliver Cromwell. This 'booklet' is a nugget of gold. . . . Books on 'pastoral theology' should be short, plain, practical, searching

and spiritual. *Stewards of the Mysteries of God*, by R. D. Middleton (Dacre Press, 2s. 6d.) is all of these. Its business is not with the novel but the needful. The writer, an experienced priest, has a salty word about confession — that a young priest should begin by finding a confessor for himself. . . . With the Hertz Trust Lecture on Origen (Oxford Press, 2s.) Dean Inge returns to his proper realm. All the marks are here — the easy sweep of knowledge, the piercing insight, the trenchant 'asides', and so on. Assuming the facts about Origen, the Dean sets him in the Alexandrian context of Platonism and Hinduism, and expounds his 'heresies'. Where Origen is a 'heretic', so is the Dean. The central idea is that the Good is eternal and that there is something of the Good in every man. One would like to discuss the assertion 'An eternal purpose is eternally frustrate' . . . 'And when I clean the boots, I try Thy sandals, Lord, to find.' 'Aesop provided nothing but tongues.' These are two quotations from an unhackneyed book called *Women at Worship*, by Alexander C. Blain (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.). It is a series of Devotional Services for Women's Meetings, and it has been 'approved' by the committee of the Methodist Women's Fellowship. The Services are as devout as they are apt . . . Is it possible to 'plan' a village that will be an English village? Can it combine the traditional and the modern? For the answer see *The Anatomy of the Village*, by Thomas Sharp (Penguin Books, 2s. 6d.). There are many excellent maps of villages and many fine pictures. The lover of our villages will find here as good an explanation of their elusive charm as is possible — with some interesting surprises. For instance, the cult of the 'detached' is quite modern. Old cottages are in rows because people liked them so. . . . This quarter we have three plays from the Epworth Press. One *St. Christopher*, by G. F. Marson (1s.) is 'a miracle play', with giant, black knight, hermit and so on. It breaks into verse just at the right point. The second, *The Old Tower*, by J. Welham Clarke (1s.), tells of fisher folk. It centres in three gossiping women, who talk in a variant of the Suffolk dialect while a storm blows up outside and brings a waif from the sea to the door. It is specially suitable for Christmas. The third play shows insight in its very name — *The Two Prodigals* (6d.). In it S. Cripps puts 'a very old story in a modern setting'. The nine scenes are in a home, an inn, and a farmyard. These three plays differ widely, but there ought to be variety in the new drama of the Church. . . . The religious Press supplies plenty of 'milk for babes', but 'babes' ought to grow up. If any young Christian would like something on which to bite as he cuts his teeth, let him try *The Gospel of the Glory of Christ*, by Crete Gray and John W. Waterhouse (Epworth Press, 1s. 6d.). It gives a short account of the way in which the Nicene Creed came to be, and then explores its meaning, piece by piece, with no small help from Wesley's hymns. The book will suit groups too, if they 'mean business'. Questions are added, to set the mind thinking on the right lines. Here are three typical quotations, 'What does *almighty* mean?', 'No one, the Creed maintains, could reveal God but God', 'We never find (the disciples) mourning an absent Lord'. . . . Methodist Superintendents, and many others, will hail Rev. Wesley F. Swift's *Ministers' and Laymen's Handbook to Business in Circuit Meetings* (Epworth Press, 1s.) with sighs of relief. Methodist Union made such an old friend as 'Simon's Summary' obsolete, and the Conference has been framing Standing Orders, etc., ever since. It has been difficult to keep abreast of it all in the series of *Minutes*. Mr. Swift gathers the material up to 1945 in his compact and careful book. . . . Every Methodist choir 'worth its salt' should be able to chant the Psalms at the end of the *Hymn-book*. Rev. A. S. Gregory, in *Psalms and Chanting* (Epworth Press, 1s.), tells them how to do it and much else. His 'wine needs no bush', but Dr. Westbrook provides a great expert's guarantee of the worth of the book. If a choir can chant, it can soon teach a congregation to do so — say, in a session or two after the evening service. Why should we neglect the treasures of the Psalter?

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

- The Congregational Quarterly*, July (Independent Press, 2s. 6d.)
 Grundtwig and Kierkegaard. By E. L. Allen.
 The Continuity of the Church. By George Johnston.
 State Compulsion from a Christian Point of View. By Leyton Richards.
 The Rights and Wrongs of Strikes. By Claud M. Coltman.
 Music and Worship: Choir Training. By W. K. Stanton.
- Harvard Theological Review*, January (Harvard Press, via Oxford Press, \$1.)
 Theology and Mythology in Aeschylus. By H. J. Rose.
 Magical Amulets. By Campbell Bonner.
 Boethius' Fourth Tractate, The So-called *De Fide Catholica*. By William Bark.
 Like Children. By Robert M. Grant.
 The Mithraic Symbolism of Mercury Carrying the Infant Bacchus. By Phyllis Pray Bober.
- ditto*, April.
 Philo on Immortality. By E. R. Goodenough.
 The 'World' Concept among Jehovah's Witnesses. By T. W. Sprague.
 Augustine and the Critical Method. By A. A. Gilmore.
- Journal of Theological Studies*, January-April (Oxford Press, 5s.)
 The Hebrew Conception of Personality in Relation to the Knowledge of God. By L. H. Brockington.
 Le 'Sancta Sanctis' en Occident, Part II. By Dom Louis Brou.
 The Stories of Shechem. Three Questions. By C. Ryder Smith.
 A Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel. By C. H. Roberts.
- The Hibbert Journal*, July (Allen & Unwin, 10s. per annum.)
 Man, The Adolescent. By the Bishop of Birmingham.
 The Voice of India in the Spiritual Crisis of our Time. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan.
 The State of the National Conscience. By W. L. Burn.
 Salvation, Security, or Both? By J. S. MacArthur.
 The Religion of a Greek Gentleman in the First Century A.D. By D. W. Gundry.
 Pascal and the Nature of Belief. By Will Moore.
- The International Review of Missions*, July (Edinburgh House, 3s.)
 The Place of Ashrams in the Life of the Church in India. By P. O. Philip.
 The Four-Centre Church in China, a Proposal for Organization. By Francis Cho-min-Wei.
 The Task of the Church in the Philippines. By E. K. Higdon.
 The Church and Reconciliation with Japan. By Charles I. McLaren.
 Mission Strategy in the New Age. By J. Merle Davis.
 Mass Literacy in Northern Rhodesia. By Hope Hay.
- The Moslem World*, July (Hartford Seminary, via Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 2s.)
 Atonement by Sacrifice in Islam. By S. M. Zwemer.
 Christianity in South Arabia. By Arthur Jeffery.
 'Abu Hanifah — Champion of Liberalism'. By Charles C. Adams.
 North-West China. By George K. Harris.
 Aphorisms in Islamic Ethics. By D. M. Donaldson.
- The Presbyterian*, May (J. Clarke, 1s.)
 The Eucharist, the Bible, and Reform. By John Marsh.
 The Shape of the Methodists. By a Methodist Preacher.
 Redemptive Suffering. By C. J. Cadoux.

The Expository Times, July (T. & T. Clark, 1s.)

The Church and Evangelism. By Roger Lloyd.

The Life of Jesus: a New Approach. By Roderic Dunkerley.

The Covenant of People. By Matthew Black.

ditto, August.

The Work of the Church in the Countryside. By E. R. Morgan.

Jesus as Prophet. By A. J. B. Higgins.

Modern Autobiography. By William Barclay.

ditto, September.

The Laity and Evangelism, by C. K. N. Bardsley.

True or Integral Humanism, by William Fulton.

The Journal of Religion, April (Chicago University Press, via Cambridge Press, \$1.25.)

Religion and Secular Culture. By Paul Tillich.

Education for a Spiritual Culture. By Bernard E. Meland.

Constructive Forces in the European Chaos. By Adolphe Keller.

Some Hidden Effects of Christianity upon Hinduism and Hindus. By George W. Davis.

Equivalents of Natural Law in the Teaching of Jesus. By Amos N. Wilder.

The Yale Review, Summer. (Yale University Press, via Oxford Press, \$1.00.)

The Influence of Air Power upon History. By E. Mead Earle.

The Artist in the Community. By Charles Morgan.

An Interpretation of China's Conflict. By Gunther Stein.

Thomas Wolfe: The Hillman and the Furies. By Maxwell Geismar.

Inflation. By Alvin H. Hansen.

Studies in Philology, April (University of North Carolina Press, via Cambridge Press, \$2.00)

Renaissance Exploitation of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. By Paul L. Wiley.

Chapman's Early Years. By Mark Eccles.

The Citizens in Philaster. By Mary G. M. Adkins.

Condemnation of the Poetic Profession in Renaissance Emblem Literature. By Robert J. Clements.

Milton and Selden on Divorce. By Eirion Owen.

Milton on Learning. By G. F. Sensabaugh.

ditto, July.

Changes of Emphasis in Linguistics, by George L. Trager.

The Epic in Five Acts, by Richard H. Parkinson.

The Shelley Legend Examined, by Newman J. White.

Hellas and Charles the First, by Raymond D. Havens.

Stevenson's Use of Witchcraft in 'Thrawn Janet', by Coleman O. Parsons.

The Royal Meteorological Society is sponsoring a new monthly called *Weather* (1s. 6d.). As its name implies, it is not too 'high-brow'. It takes a wide sweep. For instance, the August number tells of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the 'Buchan periods' and a tornado at Widecombe. Here is a good guide for those who would keep track of new developments in the science of meteorology (ugly word!) There are good pictures and diagrams.

THE MINISTRY OF AT-ONE-MENT

ATONEMENT is a theologically sounding word and is much better understood when it is printed as 'At-one-ment'. Canon Phythian-Adams's book, *The Way of At-one-ment* is offered, according to the preface, 'to Anglican and Free Churchmen who are working for reunion'. Beginning from the Bible he works out the doctrines of the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, seeking to find a common ground of unity in these matters. The doctrine of the Ministry is one of the crucial questions to be faced by those who seek reunion, and whatever else Canon Phythian-Adams's book achieves, it does give us a masterly exposition of the doctrine of the Ministry and may help the minister and layman to see the task of the Ministry more clearly.

Canon Phythian-Adams begins his discussion of the Ministry by reference to the cleavage between the Western Church and the Reformers. Broadly speaking, the Western Church regarded the Ministry as primarily the Ministry of the Sacraments, while the Reformers regarded it as primarily the Ministry of the Word. But the function of the Ministry is not merely instrumental, i.e. the passing on of a sacrament or a message. It is something much more than this. Neither the priest who conducts the daily Mass with unflinching regularity but sees little of his people at other times, nor the Protestant 'Preacher' who spends his whole week preparing the next sabbath's sermons, is fulfilling the work of the Ministry. As Canon Phythian-Adams brings out so clearly from the New Testament teaching, the Minister is to be a 'Personal Agent' rather than an impersonal 'instrument', and we need to remember that the preaching of the word can be impersonal just as much as the administration of the sacraments. The Ministry is primarily a personal agency with the specific purpose of 'At-one-ment in Love'. The task of the Ministry, which is in a sense the task of the whole Church, is the building up of the Body of Christ and the perfecting of the members of that Body in love. The bishop (and we must remember that in the New Testament this merely means the minister in charge of the local congregation), was appointed to be the Father and Shepherd of the local church. He had to make peace between disputants, admonish and encourage, and in all to build up the fellowship in love. It was the duty of every member to build up the Body of Christ in accordance with his own particular gift, but the bishop was to be the leader and the human focus of At-one-ment. It would follow quite naturally that the bishop would preside at the Lord's Supper, while the preaching of the Word was already shared by others. Now if we substitute 'Minister' for 'Bishop' we shall get some idea of what the function of the Ministry should be in our own day. In saying this we are not merely re-emphasizing the need for the pastoral work of the Ministry. The whole purpose of the Ministry is pastoral and can only be fully understood in the light of the building up of the Royal Priesthood of Love. Each part of the Minister's work, the cure of souls, the preaching of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments, receives its value from this central purpose.

Canon Phythian-Adams writes, of course, from the point of view of his own Church, offering his suggestions to all the Churches. How then does his exposition compare with Methodist teaching and usage? Methodism cherishes its belief in the priesthood of all believers, and cannot tolerate the idea of any special sacerdotal authority in its Ministry. It is only a 'matter of order' that the administration of the Sacraments is confined to the Ministry, and even in this dispensations are allowed. The preaching of the Word is shared by a great army of laymen. We have to ask then: 'What is the distinctive task of the Ministry?' Sometimes one gets the impression that the status of the Minister is that of a full-time social worker or organizing secretary with special qualifications for preaching, the only distinction between the

Minister and layman being that the Minister is a full-time worker for the Church, while the layman works in his leisure time. But the distinction is deeper than this and on the whole the Methodist people recognize the distinction. As a believer the Minister is equal with his people. As a Minister he is appointed by the whole Church to be the leader of the local Church or Circuit and to build up the fellowship in love. The building up of the Body of Christ is the task of the whole Church, but because the Minister has special training and preparation for that work, he is the leader in the building up of the Body.

Now if the tasks of the Church and the Minister were only recognized for what they are, we should not have so many breakdowns in the fellowship of the Church. Such breakdowns as Canon Phythian-Adams instances and which unfortunately can be paralleled in only too many churches, should not occur. Two people who take Communion together cut each other dead five minutes afterwards. A person who can't get his own way in Church matters leaves the Church. Two Churches close together have an unpleasant rivalry that should be unknown in a Christian Communion. A Church member makes an outsider acutely uncomfortable because he happens to have sat in a rented pew. These things happen because we have the wrong conception of the Church. We have thought of the Church as a human society for the saving of our own souls rather than as a Divine Fellowship into which we are drawn and in which we are kept by cords of love. The high task of the Ministry is to build our Churches into such fellowships of love, that they may be worthy of their place in the Body of Christ. The Minister will need grace, love, and tact and all the advice that a Paul can give to a Timothy. He will reprove fearlessly but with love, for he will be conscious of his own failings, but because he remembers his high calling of God he will not shrink from the full exercise of his ministry. There is nothing sacerdotal or authoritarian in this view of the Ministry. It is in the New Testament.

Now in most Free Churches the Minister is helped in his work by a group of deacons or elders, and in the case of the Methodist Church by the Leaders' Meeting. If we accept this view of the Ministry, it follows that we can never regard the Leaders' Meeting merely as 'another committee', whose specific function is to run the Church. Nor should it ever be a committee in which various people are all trying to get their own way and are offended if their resolutions are not carried. Unless the Leaders' Meeting of a Church is a fellowship of love, the Church itself can never be such a fellowship. The Leaders' Meeting, then, is a group of people who are called to help in this Ministry of At-one-ment. This is only restating in another way the original purpose of the Leaders' Meeting, but the original purpose is only too often forgotten in the welter of social arrangements that come up for discussion at the Leaders' Meeting.

It may be a long time before some of Canon Phythian-Adams's practical suggestions for reunion can be carried out, and for this reason little has been said here of names to be used for the Ministry or its form of organization. Yet in the meantime each Church can be setting its own house in order, for we cannot expect to achieve union among the Protestant Churches of England if we cannot find a fellowship of love in our local church. The world needs now if ever to be leavened by a fellowship of love which transcends all national and denominational boundaries. This fellowship is not dependent on any outward union. Wherever two or three are gathered together truly in the name of Christ there is already a fellowship of love. Ministers and laymen alike, we are called into this fellowship of love and to the high and holy calling of helping our Lord and Master in His Ministry of At-one-ment.

BERNARD E. JONES

urch.
this
the
urch
ove.
ause
er in

what
rch.
can
take
who
lose
om-
e he
the
man
nich
the
be
and
ssly
bers
here
New

o of
ing.
ers'
rch.
neir
ers'
h a
to
the
ten
the

ons
mes
ach
ion
e in
of
hip
her
nen
of

s

PERSONAL BOOK
GENERAL LIBRARY
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE

JAN 10 1947

LONDON QUARTERLY AND

MOLBORN REVIEW

EDITOR: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

OCTOBER 1946

Price 2s. 6d.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL COMMENTS, by Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D.

ARTICLES

A Thackeray Centenary, by W. S. Handley Jones

Cross and Crucifix: The Sacred Poetry of Richard Crashaw,
by W. L. Doughty, B.A., B.D.

A Wesley Legacy, by Charles Pollard, M.A.

Literature and Commerce, by Gilbert Thomas

Charles Wesley's Debt to Matthew Henry, by A. Kingsley Lloyd

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

The Methodist Church in India and Ceylon: General Synod 1946,
by A. Marcus Ward, M.A.

Who Gets Palestine? by A. M. Chirgwin, M.A., D.D.

A Distinguished American, by R. G. Burnett

The Tyranny of Metaphor, by Roland Lees

The Ministry of At-one-ment, by Bernard E. Jones, M.A., B.D.

MINISTERS IN COUNCIL, by William E. Farndale

RECENT LITERATURE—FROM MY NEW SHELF

Edited by C. Ryder Smith, B.A., D.D.

LONDON
EPWORTH PRESS
EDGAR C. BARTON
35-35 CITY ROAD - E.C.1

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

LITERATURE

HISTORY

SOCIOLOGY

RELIGION

THEOLOGY

PHILOSOPHY

Editor: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review is published on the 25th of March, June, September, and December by the Epworth Press, 25-26 City Road, London, E.C.1. It may be obtained from the publishers or any bookseller and from all Methodist ministers at 2s. 6d. a copy (postage 3d.) or 10s. per annum, post free.

All contributions (typewritten, if possible), should be addressed to The Editor, 'The London Quarterly and Holborn Review', 25-26 City Road, E.C.1, with stamped addressed envelope for return in case of non-acceptance.

One up to country folk!

While Londoners went short of mains GAS, Rural Areas received usual supplies of the GAS that is Delivered by Road

Over 1,000 Service and Supply Depots deliver 'Calor' Gas regularly to every village and hamlet in the British Isles. 'Calor' Gas—the portable gas in steel containers—has brought the comfort and convenience of gas to the remote countryside, to isolated homes, rural churches, and parish halls. The countryman's wife can now have a modern gas cooker; she can have a gas wash-boiler and enjoy her evenings by brilliant gas lights.

Write for free leaflet C.G.185

'Calor' Gas itself is in free supply, but the demand for 'Calor' Gas Cookers and gas appliances is still greater than present supplies can meet. But YOUR turn can come soon!

"CALOR" GAS

BELGROVE HOUSE, KING'S CROSS, LONDON, W.C.1

Just published

THE PURPOSE OF THE FAMILY

A Guide to the Care of Children

by

PROFESSOR J. C. SPENCE, M.D., F.R.C.P.,

*Reginald Professor of Child Health in the
University of Durham*

A timely contribution towards the solution of some of the most
important and pressing problems of child-care

Price 2/6

• (Postage 3d. extra)

Obtainable from the

NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME

Chief Office: Highbury Park, London, N.5

WESLEY & SANCTIFICATION

HARALD LINDSTRÖM

12s. net

Dr. W. E. Sangster writes: "It will warm the hearts
of that small but convinced band of scholars who have
earnestly maintained in Britain that this doctrine is
neglected treasure."

The EPWORTH PRESS, 25-35 City Rd., London, E.C.1

Some recent Publications

Theological and Devotional

THE NONCONFORMITY OF RICHARD BAXTER
By IRVONWY MORGAN, M.A., Ph.D. 12/6

THE OLD TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY
By C. R. NORTH, M.A. 19/6

NOTES ON WESLEY'S 44 SERMONS
By JOHN LAWSON, M.A. 5/-

THE CRAFT OF SERMON ILLUSTRATION
By W. E. SANGSTER, M.A., Ph.D. 5/-

PILOT PRAYERS
By A CHRISTIAN HUMANIST 5/-

WOMEN AT WORSHIP
By ALEXANDER C. BLAIN 4/-

THE PERIL OF THE PRE-OCCUPIED
Sermons by WILFRID L. HANNAM, B.D. 3/6

EVERYWHERE A BETHLEHEM
By DR. LESLIE F. CHURCH 3/6

NONE OTHER NAME
Sermons by IAN MACPHERSON 5/-

THE WISDOM OF THE WAY
By DOUGLAS W. THOMPSON 4/-

TIMES MAY CHANGE
By GILBERT THOMAS 6/-

General

THE ROAD GOES ON
A Literary and Historical Account of the Highways, Byways, and Bridges of Great Britain
Compiled by C. W. SCOTT-OWLES 15/-

FIRESIDE PAPERS
Essays by A. L. BENSUSAN, J.P. 6/-

of all Booksellers

The EPWORTH PRESS, 25-26 City Road, E.C.1

